

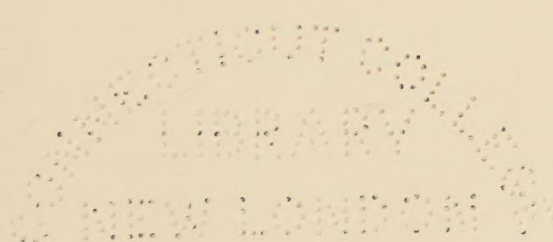
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The Background of Swedish Emigration to the United States

*An Economic and Sociological Study in the
Dynamics of Migration*

By JOHN S. LINDBERG

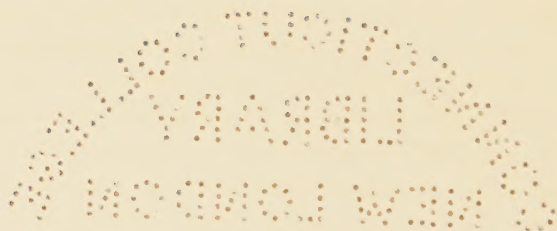
*Sometime Instructor in the University of
Stockholm and Fellow of the Laura
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PREFACE

Modern research in the social sciences has shifted its mode of approach from an account of dynasties and of military and political accomplishments to a study of political and economic institutions and the forces underlying social change. The chronicle style is being replaced by analytical methods. The Swedish people and its historians have tended to retain the older points of view to an unusually high degree. When contrasted with a long and illustrious record of military and political exploits, the present "impotence" seems to many almost disgraceful. Although the national and political stereotypes are disappearing in scientific thought, they are still potent with us and elsewhere in the popular conception of affairs and personalities.

This is well typified in the way the study of human migrations has been neglected and subordinated to far less significant events. This movement, in truth, is the dominant fact in the modern history of the Occident and is now intruding as a disturbing and ultimately determining factor in the reshaping of the Orient. There is little of permanent significance in the history of Europe, Africa, the American continents, and Australia in the last two centuries that is not in one way or another related to and affected by the transplanting of European races and cultures to other lands. This vast *Völkerwanderung* is essential in any account of the history of the new nations it created; the conflicts it caused and the readjustments it made possible in the Old World are factors of scarcely less significance in Europe's history. The expansion of Europe, the outpouring of her people into all parts of the barbarian world, is virtually a synonym for world history since 1715.

Swedish emigration is only a small sector of this great and complex movement, but it has its own very real significance and like most other phases of the European exodus has yet to be fully documented, described, and interpreted. Beginning about the middle of the nineteenth century, this movement swept over Sweden with epidemic intensity and carried away a large share of her youth. The country was not prepared for this manifestation of the fact that Swedish national life was now dominated by new forces and conditions. The calm surface of society was deceptive. Heretofore the strong currents stirring in the depths of society had evidenced themselves only as gentle ripples. Now they suddenly surged with full force to the surface. Men were not in a position to understand or evaluate this sudden change. The facts did not readily fit into the world of national political ideas. Equally inadequate proved the theories of traditional classroom economics.

The fact is that the way of emigration had long been prepared through a succession of important, although often ignored, changes in the conditions and views of the great masses. But as Eric Gustav Geijer, Sweden's great historian in the first half of the nineteenth century, well expressed it, "For this mass one found no place in history; one limited oneself to general speculations in a kind of historical appendix, a *curiosum*, related as anecdotes."¹ When the scene of important action shifted from the political field to the life of the masses, which formerly had been dismissed to the "historical appendix," the revolutionary changes in views and conditions could not possibly be embraced by preconceived dogmas. For a deeper understanding of emigration it is necessary to direct attention to these forces underlying the social changes leading up to emigration. Only against such a background is it possible to com-

¹ E. G. Geijer, *Föreläsningar över människans historia*, utgivna av S. Ribbing (Stockholm, 1877), p. 2 and *passim*.

prehend emigration as an organic part of a greater development.

A study of the causes and of the course of the Swedish emigration movement offers certain advantages. In contrast to many more important movements whose roots lie so far back in history that it is difficult, if not impossible, to attain to a certain knowledge of their origin, Swedish emigration to America began within the recollection of living men. Further, the first Swedish emigrants were not, like certain of the later groups, illiterate men, for among them were persons of culture and refinement, and these have left behind them memoirs, letters, and other written records. Moreover, statistical data referring to Swedish emigration are unusually complete. The Swedish official statistics, especially for population, not only date very far back but are also of a high quality throughout. The uniform cultural and racial character of the Swedish nation makes it possible to avoid the complications that confuse the students of less homogeneous groups. Furthermore, since interest has recently become centered on the emigration problem, an exceptionally valuable—it may well be termed unique—collection of material has been collected in the Swedish Emigration Report (*Svenska emigrationsutredningen*). This work includes the results of an official investigation made between 1907 and 1913.

This combination of circumstances makes the Swedish emigration to the United States an unusually suitable field for those who wish to study the mechanism of migration—its origin, climax, and decline.

JOHN S. LINDBERG

Stockholm
July, 1929

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I avail myself of an ancient academic privilege in first thanking my teacher, Professor Gösta Bagge of the University of Stockholm, for his never failing interest and friendly help in my work. My indebtedness to Dean Guy Stanton Ford of the University of Minnesota can hardly be adequately stated. Despite pressing duties he has found the time to follow the present volume from beginning to end with fruitful suggestions and advice, with keen observations and constructive criticism. For lively intellectual stimulus, for inspiration in and a freer outlook over the field of economics, thanks are due to Dr. Walton Hamilton of Washington, D.C. I am indebted to Professor Malcolm M. Willey of the University of Minnesota for a careful reading of the manuscript and for valuable suggestions and criticisms, especially on the sociological development of the subject. Professor George M. Stephenson, whose approach to the problem I have treated is quite different from mine, has generously given the early chapters the benefit of his intimate knowledge of the historical aspects. Students of Swedish emigration will look forward with interest to the early publication of his studies and to his interpretation.

Not least am I glad to have the opportunity to express my gratitude to the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, New York; it has through a fellowship made possible my studies in America.

In the preparation of the text of the manuscript, I am indebted for cooperation in the English formulation to Mr. Clinton L. Brooke of Minneapolis, and to the unsparing efforts of the editor of the University Press, Mrs. Margaret S. Harding. I wish also to thank Mr. E. H. Thörnberg, who read the proofs and made many helpful suggestions.

J. S. L.

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CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNING OF SWEDISH EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1841-1860

The first stage.—About 1840 interest in America began to increase rapidly in Sweden. This interest was stimulated largely by the press, by literature, and by general discussions. Descriptions of travel in America became popular reading. At about the same time, or even earlier, a similar interest was manifested in England and on the Continent. In England a number of important travel descriptions were published, that of Dickens being probably the best known. In France the famous work of De Tocqueville on American democracy appeared and was received and studied with eager interest everywhere in Europe.¹ To these stimuli to emigration the new industrial age contributed better means of transportation and communication, and thus increased mobility.

The reason for this newly awakened interest in America is uncertain and cannot be definitely determined without further study. In the absence of exact knowledge, it seems fair to assume that it was related to the wave of political opposition that swept over Europe after 1815 and again after 1830, and eventually extended even to Sweden. The dissatisfaction aroused as a consequence of the inefficacy of older political and social institutions in a new situation caused the malcontent to seek new patterns and inspiration in other lands. In Sweden, England was the subject of study and, to some extent, of imitation. The Swedish interest in England and English social life was growing dur-

¹ Translated into Swedish, 1839-1846.

ing the twenties and thirties. This interest—strongly tinted by English Wesleyanism—later on extended to embrace America as well, especially on account of the temperance movement that during the nineteenth century played a dominant part among the growing popular movements in Sweden. But the full strength of the English influence was not felt until later. The radical tradition of Sweden inclined more towards France. Rousseau and Montesquieu were its prophets before the Englishmen. Aversion to aristocracy and aristocratic institutions repulsed many from England, while America represented the longed-for ideal of freedom, equality, and true democracy. We need not concern ourselves here with the truth or falsity of the then prevalent conception of America. In fact, it is reasonably safe to assume that to the extent that America was used as a pattern and elevated to the place of an ideal, it lost in reality and became a symbol.

That America should become the object of idealization was unavoidable, if only because of the lack of reliable information. It was this idealistic conception of America, rather than America as a geographic area, that influenced radical theory and agitation. In the same manner that the conception of Greece between 1815 and 1830 was largely determined by certain characteristics derived from the Greece of classical studies, which were emphasized at the cost of reality, so America came to represent a certain ideal. An excellent illustration of this is found in the writings of Gustaf Unonius, one of the earliest emigrants.² A student at the ancient University of Upsala, holding a minor post in the civil service, he represents enlightened radical opposition and its idealization of America.

Work [he writes in the 1840's], any honest occupation, is no disgrace [in America]. . . . Conventional prejudices, class in-

² Though called "the first Swedish emigrant," the Friman brothers and others preceded Unonius.

terests, meanness of public opinion, tyranny of fashion, are not present there to hamper [our] every step. Why should I not go to America, to that country which looms like a shining Eldorado before the eyes of every adventurous youth, to that country whose fabulous birth and history compelled our attention from our earliest years at school. That country which has realized the hopes of millions, which has become the grave of old prejudices, a cradle for true civic liberty and equality and principles of society beneficent for new generations.³

It was under the influence of such ideas that during the forties the first Swedish emigrants came to America. Previous to this time numerous individuals—sailors, business men, adventurers—had wandered in various parts of the world, as is the case with members of every nation. Some of these had settled down in America; but their emigration cannot be considered strictly a part of the emigration movement proper, for it represented no definite intention to settle in another country.

It was Gustaf Unonius, who, in so far as is known, first availed himself of the privilege of emigrating after special permission from the Crown was no longer required. He was followed by others of his own type. These early emigrant leaders were generally men with a good cultural and social background, mostly young and of a romantic disposition—decidedly different from those who later contributed⁴ the great bulk of emigration. This first phase of emigration lasted only a few years, and even this phase included others than students and adventurers in the strict sense of the word.⁴

At least two special emigrations of this type may be traced. One of these had its origin in Upsala, the other in Lund, at that time the two university towns of Sweden.

Pine Lake Colony.—Gustaf Unonius was the leader of the movement that had Upsala as its source. He and his fol-

³ G. Unonius, *Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i Nordvästra Amerika*, 2 vols. (Upsala, 1861, 1862).

⁴ See the *Swedish-American Bulletin*, Vol. II, February, 1929.

lowers settled at Pine Lake, not far from Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Later other Swedish emigrants joined them, and the group came to be commonly known as the Pine Lake Colony.

Unonius left Sweden in 1841, after elaborate preparations and farewells. Besides his young wife and a servant girl, he was accompanied by two fellow students. Concerning his motives for emigrating he wrote:

I had within me the bitter discontent and sense of injustice one so often feels in youth towards one's position and the conditions under which one lives, when desires one feels to be just are not fulfilled as rapidly as one feels oneself entitled to demand, when one is unjust both towards oneself and towards others, and everything one believes to be in the way of one's success in life—the government, the social order, and society itself—gets the blame, and one seems to see something rotten in it all. One longs for a change—a desire for something, one knows not what⁵

It seemed to him that social conditions in Sweden prevented the realization of his hopes for a home. In America no such conditions stood in his way. In Sweden people did not have the spirit of adventure and pioneering, as they had in America.⁶ But free from all hindrances he would find [in America] what I miss here, and perhaps must lack for years—my own home and hearth. I will work—I am yet young—the spring of my life "is still spreading its golden wings." A loving, faithful *heart* is always mine, and the cottage, where the youth and singer will find the highest dreams of happiness realized, grows in the virgin forest, only awaiting the hand of the builder (p. 34).

The romantic note is easily recognized. But it must be admitted that this strain of high-pitched Rousseauism is not maintained throughout.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, I, 16.

⁶ It is interesting to compare this with the romanticism, general discontent, and idealism that some years previously had brought the Swedish romantic writer, Jonas Love Almqvist, to live the unspoiled, natural life of a simple peasant on a farm in Värmland. He tired of it shortly, to be sure, but his motivation and the experiment itself show much of the same influence as that which later impelled Unonius and his followers to repeat the experiment on American soil.

I am not moving to America in hopes of getting rich easily. Many struggles, many privations, many troubles await me there. . . . But I hope to become free and independent and own my own home, though it be but an humble one.

It is possible that in my case, as with the majority, this is only a passing mood of revolt, signifying that since I see so much that is patched, dwarfed, and miserable in the present institutions and conditions of my country, I feel little desire to become a "rag in the wash." But many have the same thoughts and opinions as I, and the time will come . . . when many will follow my example and emigrate to America.

During the next few years the colony continued to attract a few emigrants, most of whom belonged to the same social class as Unonius. They were largely military men, merchants, and students. Their motives for emigrating varied. Some were merely gripped by the wanderlust, and some were scions of noble or wealthy families, who had ruined their prospects for the future through riotous living. Some may have become entangled in *mésalliances*. As a rule, the families of the latter were glad to dispose of them in this way. On the whole, they represented a group that had found it difficult to adjust themselves to their social environment and entertained hopes of finding themselves in the atmosphere of American freedom and democracy.

Among the emigrants who arrived at Pine Lake during the next few years were a Baron Thott, a Lieutenant von Schneidau, a Norrköping merchant named Wadman, and numerous others. The colony was not successful; and after a relatively short time it was disbanded, and the settlers scattered to various places and entered different occupations. Emigrants of this type, unaccustomed to hard work, were not suited for the trials and privations of pioneer life. Unonius himself became a pastor in the Episcopal Church, and finally returned to Sweden; and von Schneidau became the first photographer and finally the first Swedish consul in Chicago.⁷

⁷ For details concerning the Pine Lake Colony see especially Unonius.

Koshkonong Lake Colony.—Proof that the same atmosphere that brought about Unonius' emigration from Upsala also prevailed at Lund is furnished by the emigration of Thure Ludvig Kumlien and his party. This party also settled in Wisconsin on Koshkonong Lake, which lies about forty miles from Madison. We do not know whether Kumlien knew of Unonius' enterprise; but it is by no means improbable, since the emigration of the latter attracted some attention at the time, and Unonius published accounts of his experiences in the Swedish newspapers.

Kumlien was a distinguished pupil of Fries, who in turn was a pupil of Linnaeus. It is said that an unfortunate love affair was responsible for his emigration. It is probable, although not certain, that the same desire for rapid independence that impelled Unonius was a contributing factor.⁸

op. cit.; also Erik Norelius, *De svenska luterska församlingarnas och svenskarnes historia i Amerika* (Rock Island, 1890); and Fredrika Bremer, *Hemmen i den nya världen* (Stockholm, 1853-1854) and *America of the Fifties* (New York, 1924).

⁸ Kumlien was accompanied by his wife and several comrades, among whom were Gustav Mellberg, a student from Lund, who is said to have emigrated from religious motives, Hammarquist, also a student, and Reuterskjöld, a member of a noble family. The latter is said to have been regarded as the "black sheep" of his family, who for this reason were glad to get rid of him.

The colony at Koshkonong Lake has attracted less attention than that at Pine Lake and was unknown in Sweden at the time; but it seems to have endured longer. When I visited Pine Lake in the spring of 1926, a granddaughter of Kumlien's still lived in the vicinity; but most of the original settlers had moved to other localities. Kumlien retained his scientific interests in his new surroundings. As a prominent frontier botanist and ornithologist, he contributed much to the study of the flora and fauna of the Middle West. While tending the plow and harrow, he always kept his eyes open for unusual birds and flowers. He ended his days as curator of the Museum of Natural History at Milwaukee. It may be of interest to remark that his scientific and artistic interests have been inherited by some of his descendants. The above-mentioned granddaughter, Mrs. A. K. Main, has become known as the author of popular works on ornithology. So far as I know, the only written sources on Kumlien's colony are the *Memoirs* of Rasmus B. Anderson. Any additional information, if preserved, exists in old collections of letters, probably in Sweden.

The significance of the earlier emigration.—This movement of intellectuals and adventurers soon fell off and came to a close. It was so narrow in its scope that it has generally escaped the attention of those who are interested in determining the motives underlying the emigration movement as a whole. But its significance is far greater than its scope would seem to suggest, for it was this emigration that helped to break the ice and clear the way for the later emigration, which included quite different classes.

It is important to recall that the first handful of emigrants were impelled by idealistic motives. Economically, people of this class had less reason to emigrate than the bulk of the population. In their education, family connections, and social position, they possessed greater advantages than the majority. On the other hand, they were not so well equipped to take up the struggle for existence in America as their less prosperous countrymen, who had been forced from childhood on to accustom themselves to hard work. In a word, they had more to lose and less to gain. Their emigration may be attributed more to hope and impatience than to misery and despair.⁹

It was not unnatural that the idea of emigration should arise and attain fulfillment among the educated classes. In the beginning it must have seemed a wild and fantastic enterprise. The risk was great and impossible to calculate in a rational manner. For the economically minded it must have appeared unwise to risk even the most unassuming but certain position at home for such an uncertain prospect of gain. Consequently, it is not surprising that youthful idealism was called upon to prove the practicability of such a seemingly fantastic enterprise. Furthermore, the bulk of

⁹ Cf. G. T. Flom, "The Scandinavian Factor in American Population," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. III, 1905. Flom writes, "Furthermore, the movement in Sweden was started not among those who earned a meager living by the hardest sort of work, . . . but among the middle classes and among professional men."

the population, the hard-laboring class and the poor, lacked both means and ability to take this step into the unknown. Their horizon was not sufficiently wide. The significance of the accomplishments of these pioneer emigrants lay in the fact that they contributed to the widening of that horizon.

It has repeatedly been observed that the average man is not as willing to arrive at a fateful decision through general reading and study as through listening to the information and advice imparted by his associates. The early emigration by force of personal example and testimony made such knowledge of America available for the first time. America was no longer a distant conception, but something that had an intimate bearing on one's own life. In the daily papers, or in letters from emigrants to their relatives at home, men could read about the free social order, the unlimited supply of land, and the possibility for a poor man to rise to an independent and respected position. Even Swedes could do it! That was quite different from hearing that an American, an Englishman, or a German had done the same thing. Naturally it was possible for Swedes to give a better idea of the conditions that were of importance for their fellow-countrymen. Accounts of travel like those of Dickens were of little interest to the average man in Sweden, but the narratives of Swedes like Unonius were devoured eagerly.

A good example of the way in which the enthusiasm for emigration was communicated and the tradition of emigrating was begun is furnished by the emigration that resulted chiefly from the influence of Unonius. This represents the next type of emigration.

Group emigration.—The letters and newspaper articles written by Unonius attained wide distribution and inspired many with the idea of emigrating. Some did so. They in turn wrote letters home. Others undertook the journey.

The result of all this activity was a more and more intimate connection between Sweden and America.

As a rule people did not go alone, but organized themselves into larger groups, usually under the leadership of some returned Swedish American or some one of their own number whose authority and ability were recognized by all. As Norelius says,

Swedish emigration during the earliest years was characterized by the fact that the groups consisted of relatives and friends, at any rate of people from the same locality, and that they went to the same place in America. . . . This ceased more and more as communications were improved and steam vessels came into use.¹⁰

Among those led to emigrate through reading Unonius' letters in the newspapers was Daniel Larson, from Haurida, in the province of Småland. In company with about fifty persons he left for America in 1844. During the following year, 1845, Peter Cassel, from Kisa, in Östergötland, led a party to America. His emigration came about as the result of letters written by Polycarp von Schneidau, one of the members of the Unonius party, to his father in Sweden. New groups from the region around Kisa joined this colony in 1846 and 1847. In 1849 as many as three hundred persons emigrated from Östergötland and northern Småland. Several religious groups left between 1846 and 1854. The most prominent among these were the Erik Jansonists, who emigrated in several groups.¹¹

Increasingly large groups went to Chicago. In 1847 about forty families arrived there, and in 1848 about one hundred families. This number rose in 1849 to about four hundred persons, in 1850 to about five hundred, and in 1851 and 1852 to about one thousand persons yearly. In 1849 a group of about one hundred and forty persons came from Northern Sweden, accompanied by Pastor L. P. Esbjörn,

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16.

¹¹ Cf. Norelius, *loc. cit.* Also Emil Herlenius, *Erik Jansonismens historia* (Jönköping, 1900).

who was to become the founder of the Augustana Synod, the largest Swedish church organization in America.¹² In 1850 religious pressure brought about the emigration of another group from Northern Sweden in pursuit of religious freedom, members of a sect known as *Lutherläsare* [Luther Readers]. During this same year two additional groups of 48 and 111 persons respectively, sailed from Gävle, a seaport in Northern Sweden.

Another group, of different origin, may be mentioned here. S. M. Swensson, who had gone to Texas in 1838, returned there in 1848, after a visit to Sweden, taking with him about fifty farmhands. This constituted the beginning of the Swedish settlements in Texas.¹³

After this time the groups become too numerous to be followed in detail. Moreover, this is not necessary for the present purpose. The groups already mentioned serve to show how the movement spread from province to province, how already existing groups attracted new ones, and how new emigrations resulted. Group emigration prevailed till around 1860. Groups emigrated after this time, to be sure, but these were as contrary to the general rule as individual emigration was previously.

The statistics for the first few decades of emigration are incomplete, but they allow us to gain a certain conception of the approximate scope of the movement.¹⁴ During the decade 1841-1850 Sweden lost a total of 4,061 persons

¹² Cf. George Stephenson, "Peter Cassel and the Settlement at New Sweden," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, February, 1929, and *The Founding of the Augustana Synod* (Rock Island, 1927).

¹³ Cf. Norelius, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

¹⁴ The early American statistics on emigration group Sweden and Norway under a common heading. As the early Norwegian emigration was far greater than the Swedish, these figures are of little interest as far as Sweden is concerned. The Swedish figures for this early period are also highly unsatisfactory. The above figures can be regarded only as approximations. Cf. esp. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV. See also Gustav Sundbärg, *Bidrag till utvandringsfrågan från befolkningsstatistisk synpunkt* (Upsala, 1885, 1886), p. 338.

through emigration. A certain percentage of these went to other countries than the United States. This gives an annual average of less than four hundred persons. During the following decade the loss amounted to 14,973 persons. These relatively modest figures contrast sharply with those for the decade 1861-1870, when 93,119 persons emigrated from Sweden to non-European countries.

In comparison with its subsequent strength, emigration during the first twenty years was so inconsiderable that it is useless to draw general conclusions on the basis of the statistical data. Thus far, purely fortuitous circumstances, such as the return of a Swedish American or the arrival of a letter from America, or some other equally casual occurrence, played a large part in determining from which sections of the country and from which classes emigration would come. Two circumstances now deserve special attention. The first is the special form of *organization* that emigration assumed. The second is the motives and character thereof.

The function of group emigration.—Most of the earlier emigrations to America were undertaken by groups. One need not go very far back in American history to find illustrations of this. This organization was at least partially a result of external circumstances. Through combining forces the emigrants were better prepared to withstand the dangers of crossing the ocean and settling in a new land. A solitary settler stood no chance of winning out in the struggle with the wilderness and the often hostile Indians. In peace as in war, conjoint effort and organization are necessary for successful colonization. Individual emigration requires safety, as well as organized communications and stable social conditions. When ox carts and horse-drawn wagons were the only available means of crossing the trackless prairies, it was absolutely necessary to seek traveling companions. The hardships of the journey could be better borne,

and making camp, keeping watch, and caring for the wagons and animals could be better attended to by a group than by a single family or individual. Organization imparted that feeling of security and fellowship so essential to people who had given up their old life and now were thrown entirely upon their own resources under circumstances strange and alien.

This form of emigration disappears under modern conditions. There is no necessity for people to band together in order to travel by train from New York to Minneapolis. Nor is it necessary when countrymen or different organizations look after them upon their arrival at their destination.

In order to understand the conditions upon which emigration depends, it is essential to recall that emigration is the result of a compromise between driving and deterrent or frictional factors. Assuming that the desire to emigrate is constant, the strength of the movement is determined by the intensity of the frictional factors, which represent simply the mobility of labor seen from the negative point of view. If their intensity is great (i.e., the mobility is low), emigration is small; if their intensity is decreased (i.e., the mobility is increased), emigration increases in like proportion.

No period could be more suitable for a study of the significance of the frictional factors than the first twenty years of Swedish emigration. The first Swedish emigrants came to America in small sailing vessels, and were carried to their destination by canal boats, oxcarts, and other primitive methods. Their experiences and problems were on the whole the same as those of all early emigrants. Only twenty years later they arrived in steamships, and were rushed out upon the prairies by train. In comparison with the slow development of earlier times, the progress made in this short time was revolutionary. The difficulties of the journey to America dwindled; both the danger and the cost

were decreased. Emigration was opened to new masses who previously had refrained either because of poverty or because of the danger involved. For the first time in history the way was cleared for *mass* emigration.

This development affected both the scope and the composition of emigration, and a proper understanding of the movement must not fail to take it into consideration.

Development of transportation and its relation to emigration.—The construction of railroads, the building up of a modern mercantile marine, and other such developments introduce a new situation into the economic life of a nation and also of the whole world. New industries spring up in some places, and old industries are abandoned in others.¹⁵ Unemployment in some industries may go hand in hand with shortage of labor in others. The problem of the effect of means of transportation on the labor market and the localization of labor is too extensive to be treated here.¹⁶ It should merely be pointed out that the final effect of the improvement in transportation upon the demand for labor in a given region is uncertain. The demand for labor is here assumed to be constant, and the tendency for emigration is taken for granted. This may be done without incurring too great a risk of misrepresentation.

An immediate advantage is given by the greater ease of emigration, but the indirect effects, in whatever direction they may tend, are discernible only after some time has elapsed. Since for a short period the changes in mobility

¹⁵ A typical illustration of the fact that railroad construction in itself is not always sufficient to arouse a more active economic life is furnished by central Jämtland, from which district emigration has been abnormally great in recent times. (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 807.)

¹⁶ "The significance of our imposing railroad system for the economic life of the nation was for a long time less great than we were prone to believe. . . . The increase in population in the Swedish rural districts, as well as in the cities, was high in the tracts in which railroad construction happened to be going on, but unfortunately it ceased as soon as the railroads were completed." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 807.)

TABLE I
DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION COMPARED WITH DEVELOPMENT OF EMIGRATION IN SWEDEN AND CERTAIN
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	1846		1850		1860		1870		1880		1890		1900	
	a*	b**	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b
England	1,348	.....	10,653	596	16,787	608	24,999	394	28,584	300	32,297	442	35,186	150
Germany	549	.....	6,044	173	11,633	250	19,575	246	33,838	162	42,869	280	51,391	69
France	497	.....	3,083	+31	9,528	+8	17,931	+24	26,189	+29	36,895	+42	42,827	+98
Belgium	336	.....	854	+120	1,729	153	2,997	112	4,120	29	5,263	21	6,345	13
Sweden .....	.....	.....	.....	12	522	74	1,708	368	5,906	316	8,018	743	11,320	365
Italy	8	.....	427	.....	1,800	.....	6,134	88	8,715	97	12,907	288	15,787	455
Russia	26	.....	601	.....	1,589	.....	11,243	66	23,857	32	30,757	89	48,107	156

* a = Kilometers of railroads (*Archiv für Eisenbahnwesen*).

** b = Mean annual loss in population per 100,000 inhabitants during preceding decade (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 99).

of population are greater than those in its underlying social conditions, it is fairly safe to regard the desire to emigrate as constant for short periods, and the frictional factors as variable.

Transportation in Sweden.—The first part of the journey to America involves getting to the port of departure in Sweden. Only a small fraction of the population is located in the seaports that have direct connections with America. In countries where distances are greater and the means of transportation are primitive, this portion of the journey becomes fairly costly. This is of course not an absolute hindrance to emigration, but it increases the total cost, time, and trouble of the journey. Good transportation within the emigration country is therefore a necessary prerequisite for mass emigration from remote settlements, at least in so far as the extent of the movement is dependent upon the cost of the journey. Consequently it is interesting to observe that mass emigration takes place earliest from the countries having the best transportation system, either in point of location or of equipment, or both.¹⁷

In comparison with the other European countries, railroad construction in Sweden was begun relatively late. It was about twenty years before Sweden could exhibit a burst of speed comparable to that of the other countries during

¹⁷ Emigration reaches its maximum first in the countries that lead in railroad construction. The "old" emigration comes from the countries that stand foremost in industrial development, as well as in transportation, especially as regards the extent of their railroads. The climax of emigration was first attained in England and Germany, later in Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries. That good means of transportation do not necessarily give rise to high emigration is illustrated in the cases of Belgium and France. Emigration there nevertheless follows the general trend, although on a lower absolute level.

In the Southern and Eastern European countries, such as Italy and Russia, the climax was not attained until some time later. The reasons for this are by no means clear. It is possible and even probable that emigration and the development of transportation are largely caused by the same forces. But without development of transportation, emigration as a mass movement is greatly impeded.

the forties. This period corresponds approximately to the difference between the times when emigration appeared as a mass movement in Sweden and in the remaining Western European countries, especially England and Germany.

Once the railroad system is well established and the land is crisscrossed with railroad lines, it is impossible to determine any definite relation between emigration and the growth of the railroad system. This is explicable partly because it is only where long distances are involved that the means of transportation is of vital importance to emigration. In this connection it may be proper to point out the late participation of Norrland in emigration, and the relatively late building and scanty supply of railroads in that province.¹⁸ But this circumstance can be explained on other grounds, and cannot be advanced as decisive proof.

Instead of entering into a detailed treatment of these uncertain conditions, it is sufficient to point out that after emigration began as a mass movement during the sixties, a constantly growing system of railroads was available to carry the emigrants from their homes to the ports from which they embarked upon the journey across the ocean; whether they started directly from one of the Scandinavian countries, or, as was the case for many years, went by way of England or Germany. Whereas in early times—up to about 1860—the inland journey was a serious item of cost for the poorer classes, this was no longer the case after the development of the railroad system along modern lines.

Whatever the relations between these factors may be, the appearance of the railroads served to eliminate a serious frictional element. The journey within Sweden became of less importance with relation to the cost and trouble of the journey as a whole. For the greater number of the later

¹⁸ Whereas the maximum emigration from Southern and Central Sweden took place in the eighties, in Norrland the maximum was not attained until twenty to thirty years later.

emigrants, this element may be ignored as a serious frictional factor.

Ocean transportation.—The largest single item in the cost of the journey to America is the voyage across the Atlantic. When emigration began there was no organized passenger traffic, and the emigrants embarked on small sailing vessels bound for the United States. It is possible only to suggest some of the hardships and dangers with which the earlier emigrants had to cope before reaching America. There were no staterooms, no sanitary measures. Men, women, and children were crowded together in small rooms. Often the emigrants had to provide their own food, and when unfavorable weather prolonged the voyage there arose a shortage of food and drinking water. The experiences of the earlier Swedish emigrants were common to all the earlier emigrants.¹⁹

Sailing ships from Swedish harbors continued in common use for the transportation of emigrants until the beginning of the 1860's, when emigrants began to travel by way of English, and later German, lines. This marked the great turning-point in transportation to America. Whereas previously the voyage had been perilous and genuinely adventurous, it now became, at the most, unpleasant.

The disadvantages of the voyage could now be gauged in economic terms. It might be said that the earlier emigration called for either profound ignorance of conditions or genuine courage on the part of the emigrant. Even as late as the 1890's the emigrants coming to America told of the unsatisfactory conditions on emigrant ships. From this time on it was merely a question of relatively slight inconveniences, which were speedily being abolished. The im-

¹⁹ The following lines from a letter written in 1846 say more than long descriptions: "This day the ship "Wilhelmina" arrived from Gävle, carrying 118 passengers, of whom 7 adults and 21 children have died. One family has lost five children." Anna Söderblom, "Läsare och Amerikafarare på 1840-talet," *Julhelg*, Upsala, 1925.

provement of conditions has progressed rapidly, and since the turn of the century, more especially in the last decade, the improvements have been so sweeping that the voyage has lost most of its discomfort. The old steerage has been replaced by third class accommodations, which on the new boats leave nothing to be desired in point of cleanliness, comfort, or sanitary conditions. Apart from economic considerations, there is nothing in the voyage itself to deter the emigrant, now that the voyage is made with modern liners.²⁰

Transportation in America. — Corresponding changes have been made in inland transportation in America. The first emigrants followed the traditional course to the Middle West. The Erie Canal had been open to traffic since 1825, and lake carriers bore the emigrants to the interior of the country.²¹ Early in the fifties railroads were built to connect the Mississippi Valley with the North Atlantic seaboard. As Turner has said, "The day of river settlement was succeeded by the era of interrivers settlement and railway transportation."²² The Swedes came while this development was at its height. These first Swedish emigrants

²⁰ It is interesting to observe the reaction of earlier emigrants to the conveniences on the new liners when they return to Sweden on a visit. Whereas the more recent emigrants accept the conditions with an air of nonchalant superiority, as though they never had done anything else than travel back and forth across the Atlantic, those who came earlier never tire of expressing their amazement over the improvements that have been made. The staterooms accommodate two or four passengers, and are clean and well-ventilated. The bedding is irreproachable. The food is clean and appetizing. Meals are served in airy dining rooms, on tables with clean cloths and napkins. Recreation rooms, musical instruments, etc., are at the disposal of the passengers. Conditions in the third class of a modern Atlantic liner are as good as in the first, or at any rate the second class, of most of the ships plying the North Sea.

²¹ For further details of this early development in American transportation facilities see H. B. Meyer, *History of Transportation in the United States before 1800* (Washington, 1917), and S. Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America* (Indianapolis, 1915).

²² F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921), p. 137.

had to follow the same route, and endure the same hardships and difficulties as the other early emigrants to the West. Their path was far from smooth; they were unacquainted with the language; they felt lost and dispirited in their new surroundings. Little progress could be made unless they united in groups. A person who knew English was an invaluable acquisition to such a group, and usually became a natural leader. The earlier groups sometimes were fortunate enough to meet Norwegians who had come previously, and, as emigration became more common, their own countrymen.

On the whole, the difficulties encountered before the completion of the railroads were very great. Few groups traveled the entire distance from New York to their destination without sustaining some serious accident.²³ But it must be remembered that Swedish emigration as a whole is so comparatively recent that most of the emigrants never needed to experience these difficulties. In the sixties, when emigration began in earnest, some of the greatest difficulties of this nature had already been overcome. Just complaints are still heard as to the treatment of the emigrant by the railroads and by swindlers in the guise of agents who exploit the newcomer.

Settlement in America.—The problem of settlement must also be reckoned among the frictional factors. This really includes the choice of a location, the first struggles to overcome the prairie or wilderness, the building of homes, and the first attempts at assimilation.

The first problem that confronted the emigrants after their arrival in America was the choice of a location. The possibility of remaining in the East never occurred to them. Their eyes were turned towards the West, with its freer living conditions and inexhaustible supply of new land.

²³ For a graphic description of such journeys see Norelius, *loc. cit.*

Once emigration had become established, the new arrivals went to older colonies, where, if they did not settle permanently, they at least remained long enough to learn something about American conditions and acquire a semblance of the English language. Quite otherwise with the earliest emigrants. They could turn to no one but themselves. As a rule they followed the general stream of emigration at that particular time. But the question of just where they should settle in the great area representing the frontier was determined by more chance circumstances.

An example of this is offered by the activity of the Hedström brothers. Olof Gustaf Hedström came to America in 1825, was early converted to Methodism, and became a pastor of this denomination. From 1845 on he was stationed as pastor on the "Bethel Ship," a vessel that met incoming emigrants in New York Harbor. Through him many of the Swedish emigrants obtained their first contact with America. Hedström did not confine his activities to preaching; he also served as an apostle of American ideals, and his greatest significance undoubtedly consisted in his services as adviser in more mundane matters. His brother Jonas had settled in Illinois. Through him Gustaf received information concerning the great opportunities in that state, and consequently he advised the new arrivals to settle there. This is one factor in explaining why such a large part of the early Swedish emigration went to Illinois.²⁴

But even after the emigrants had arrived at their destination and taken up land, they still needed company and mutual help. The reclamation of the prairie or forest, as the case might be, required cooperative endeavor. It was only natural that the group that had shared the hardships and dangers, the disappointments and aspirations of the journey, should feel itself knit together by a common feeling of

²⁴ Cf. Norelius, *loc. cit.* The Jansonists and Unonius had done their part in advertising Illinois.

strangeness in the new surroundings, and that it should continue to be the social unit.²⁵

Thus these group emigrations resulted in the founding of Swedish colonies. Under the existing conditions these were essential to the success of settlement in America. That this tendency towards banding together could go too far is shown by Unonius, who writes:

This insistence on choosing a farm or in some other fashion attempting to make a living just at the place where friends and countrymen have already settled, is a frequent mistake among our Swedish emigrants . . . rather than go some miles further away where far better land is to be had . . . they crowd themselves together among hills, hollows, and boulders.²⁶

Once Swedish colonies had been established in several places, direct communication sprang up between Sweden and the Swedish districts in America. Consequently the later emigrants did not have to face the same problems of settlement and choice of occupation. It was no longer necessary for them to depend upon the mechanism of which the group was the natural unit. Now they could go directly to already established communities where they could count on receiving help from countrymen, friends, or relatives.²⁷

²⁵ A proper understanding of Americanization should be based more on a study of these groups than on single individuals. It is a process that takes place by groups rather than by individuals. The problem of assimilation cannot be treated in the present work, but it is important to bear in mind that the form that emigration assumed from the beginning is of the utmost importance for the study of the Swedes in America. The force of circumstances gave the organization of the Swedes in America a certain solidity. The natural social unit became not so much a certain American city or region, as certain Swedish-American organizations, churches, charitable societies, choral clubs, lodges, etc. Americanization can be best followed in the growth and development of such organizations towards American ideals. The first foundation of Swedish-American society was laid during this time. A similar point of view has been advanced for the Polish emigration in the work of Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Poland and America* (Chicago, 1918), chap. v, esp.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

²⁷ Later this group emigration was repeated on a smaller scale. It

The significance of these colonies for the pattern and mechanism of mass emigration will be taken up later. Group emigration and group settlement were the result of the conditions that prevailed during the first years of emigration. After the establishment of colonies there arose an entirely new situation, which deserves careful study if the later development of emigration is to be understood. It is important to remember that group settlements became less and less frequent after the sixties. Furthermore, the frictional elements were enormously decreased through the founding of Swedish colonies.

Summary.—Emigration began as a sporadic phenomenon among the educated classes, especially among the academic youth. This phase of emigration soon passed, but it inspired other classes with the idea of emigrating, which gave rise to what has been termed "group emigration." Aside from the sociological significance and the causes of this organization, it is partially explained through transportation conditions at that early date, viz., the absence of organized facilities for traveling and settling in America.

With regard to the journey itself, the outstanding feature is that previous to the establishment of regular passenger traffic, the dangers and hardships were very great. Furthermore, the element of cost was an important one. In early times it was difficult to estimate the time required for the journey. It was impossible to make definite arrangements as to arrival. The loss of time was an important element for persons dependent upon their own earnings for a

often happened that owing to the arrival of a large number of emigrants a certain district began to seem overpopulated in comparison with the generous standards of the frontier. In such cases groups assembled, with wagons and horses, oxen and cattle, and transported all their worldly belongings to some point further west. The question of the internal migrations of emigrants after arrival in America cannot be entered into here. An excellent study of such movements, at a somewhat later date, but nevertheless typical, may be found in O. E. Rølvaag's novel, *Giants in the Earth* (New York, 1927).

living. If the journey took six months or more, the emigrant was prevented from earning anything during a period when his expenses were abnormally high. Under these conditions the poor were compelled either to obtain financial assistance or remain at home. This limited the selection to relatively well-situated persons, as it was only after Swedish colonies had been founded in America and emigrants began to send money home that emigration became possible for persons without private means.

The difficulties in America were great as long as no countrymen or only a few were there to help the emigrant over the first obstacles. These circumstances explain the necessity of group organization in the early stages of emigration.

Group organization brought active communications between America and Sweden. Letters, returned emigrants, etc., brought America constantly to the attention of the people, and the colonies established in America exerted a growing attraction. Conditions now permitted individuals to emigrate without the necessity of gathering in groups, and emigration assumed the character of a mass movement, in many respects radically different from the earlier movement. The significance of group emigration, both for the molding of the character of "Swedish America," its institutions and views, habits and customs, and for the later phases of emigration, is, however, so great that it deserves closer study.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARACTER OF GROUP EMIGRATION

Positive influences in emigration.—The preceding chapter was devoted, in part, to a study of the difficulties encountered by the first emigrants in journeying to, and in settling in, America. Since the difficulties during the first epoch of emigration were greater than those later on, the driving forces must have been correspondingly greater in order that movement might result.¹ If we are to gain a well-rounded conception of emigration, we must take due consideration of the positive influences, as well.

It should be observed that a social movement cannot be understood merely through a study of the individuals composing it. The individual is only a part of the group, the class, the state, the nation, the race. His behavior can be comprehended only as part of that of a larger group or groups, of which he is an integral part.² The social nature of emigration is shown by the very fact that the group and not the individual was the unit in the first emigrations.

Even a cursory consideration of the character of the earlier movement shows that it differs widely in character from its later manifestations. In the former case it is an untried enterprise, unsupported by tradition or precedent. In the latter case it is the continuation of a long-established

¹ As Norelius says, "It must be admitted that in the beginning [of emigration] it took a great deal more courage to emigrate than later, when the road became old and well-known." (*Op. cit.*, I, 15.)

² Cf. W. McDougall, *Social Psychology*; W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* (1916); Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, Vol. I; and W. D. Wallis, *Introduction to Sociology* (1927).

movement, the advantages and disadvantages of which are known to all. It is possible to make certain conventional calculations, based on previous experience.

The economic background of group emigration.—Early emigration to America showed that it was possible for a Swede of the type constituting the bulk of the emigration to improve his economic status and attain independence, if not prosperity. Naturally there were many exceptions. Many encountered misfortune and failure and led a miserable existence in America. But unless opportunities for improved living conditions had existed, emigration would never have risen above insignificant and sporadic experiments.³

The economic background of emigration is so well known and so circumscribed that it should not be necessary further to emphasize its significance at this point. To be sure, one of the most characteristic traits of the emigrants was their ambition to improve their status and win at least an unpretentious position of independence.

But glib explanations in terms of "economic motives" may be pitfalls trapping the investigator and holding him from the completion of a well-rounded analysis. The term "economic motives" embodies an exceptionally broad and dubious conception. In a detailed, concrete investigation it is too broad to have more than a very general value. If it means that men work and strive in the same proportion as the expected returns for their labors, and make their decisions on this basis, it is too unreal to cover the "economic motives" that impel men to emigrate. Consequently, if consideration is also taken of the fact that for a majority, economic activity is merely a means to certain ends, many of

³ Compare the emigration of Swedish mine-workers from Norrland to Brazil in 1909. Because conditions in Brazil did not measure up to what the agents had promised, and the emigrants were forced to live in wretchedness and disease, emigration ceased and the survivors returned to Sweden. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 652.

which lie outside the economic sphere proper, the conception becomes so elusive that it is difficult to handle. Both thieves and school teachers are spurred to activity by the thought of the economic compensation for their labors. But how different the social implications of their respective professions! In a field like emigration, where so many different individuals are participating, with so many different conceptions of the same reality, and where many of the most important implications lie outside the economic sphere proper, it is important to bear this in mind; otherwise we may violate reality in our attempts to force it into the strait-jacket of an all too narrow ideology. Even if it be admitted that emigration is partly dependent upon economic factors, in so far as a certain economic situation is prerequisite thereto, an especially important factor still remains to be considered. The emigrant's mental picture of conditions in Sweden and in America is only partially correct. One emigrant may think of America as a land of milk and honey, while another sees only a land of dollars and dopes. One picture may be truer than the other, but that is of no consequence here. What is important is that all pictures of reality are more or less false. But the emigrant, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, in the early stages of emigration, and even later, bases his decisions on just such pictures. As long as a certain conception dominates reality, it is this conception and not reality that is the basis for action.⁴

Thus it is impossible to understand the real motivation of emigration by studying external conditions and drawing conclusions from them as to what the emigrant *should* have thought. Emigrants draw their knowledge, not from economic reviews and statistical works, but from an attitude based on personal observation and impressions of certain portions of America. Unless this is taken into considera-

⁴ Cf. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, 1922).

tion, a gulf arises between real and construed motives, and we fail to grasp the emigrant's real world of imagination, nor do we rightly measure the value he ascribes to different circumstances. It is well to remember Bacon's advice in his essay on "Seditions and Troubles": "Let no prince measure the danger of discontents by this. . . . Whether the griefs whereupon they rest be great or small." The temptation to ignore the approximate nature of human knowledge and the individual sense of values is seen in the fact that it is not difficult to find investigators who, after having studied the situation in a certain field—let us say the political—do not hesitate to give the assurance that no just reason for discontent can be found, and consequently that political motives play no part in emigration.

To a certain extent this is explained by the almost insuperable difficulties that present themselves when one attempts to obtain reliable information from the emigrants themselves regarding their motives. No person capable of organized thought could accept all their explanations at their face value. One gave to the author as his reason that he was disappointed in love, a second that he was arrested for drunkenness, a third that his uncle in Minneapolis sent him a ticket, a fourth that he wanted to see the world, a fifth that he was dissatisfied with the political situation or wanted to avoid conscription, and thus it goes on. Some, or rather most, of them also wish incidentally to improve their economic situation. There is danger of tripping oneself up by permitting preconceived opinions to influence the manner of interrogation. By means of a little systematic questioning one can obtain results to fit almost any kind of theory. If one were to take the emigrants at their word, it would seem surprising that any people are left in Sweden. Possibly the explanation may be that the emigrants themselves do not know why they emigrate. Usually they follow

a certain precedent or culture pattern established within their own class. In their attempts to determine their own motives they unconsciously fall a prey to the temptation to rationalize.

But these factors are undoubtedly of greater significance for the later emigration. There can be little doubt, on the other hand, that the leaders of the earlier emigration were more fully conscious of their motives, and based their decisions on more careful considerations than was customary among the later emigrants. This has a double explanation. On the one hand, the unknown and unproved nature of emigration made it imperative to consider such a serious decision very carefully. Moreover, the leaders, as we have seen, were often above the average in intelligence, financial resources, and general station in life. It was their example that inspired their followers. There was far less likelihood that *torpare* and *backstugesittare*,⁵ farmhands, and servant girls, would possess the necessary initiative, courage, resolution, and means to break away and start off on the hazardous journey to America. The motivation for the earlier emigration can be best followed, then, through studying the leaders, who communicated their spirit to their followers. From the purely economic point of view, persons of the class represented by these leaders had, as has been pointed out, less to gain from emigration than the majority. They forsook a safe, well-ordered life, friends and native heath, for a life of hard labor and uncertain, although perhaps larger, returns at some time in the future. It is significant that as a rule emigration does not take place until "idealistic" motives combine themselves with motives of an economic nature. Only on the basis of an evaluation of the differences between the two countries concerned can an individual or a group base the decision to emigrate. If

⁵ For explanation of these terms see pages 96 and 97.

no difference had existed between conditions in Sweden and in America, there would have been no reason for emigration.⁶

The dissimilarities between countries are differently evaluated in different social strata, depending upon the views and social status of the group involved. Those who are blindly devoted to the State Church, and those who are interested in its welfare, naturally consider the Swedish form far superior to the American. If they emigrate, it is because other circumstances are powerful enough to neutralize this disadvantage. To dissenters, the religious freedom of America looms as a great, almost inestimable advantage, worth nearly any sacrifice. Much the same reasoning may be applied to almost any field of human activity. But the way in which different conditions are evaluated is decisive for the selection of emigrants.⁷

Thus the economic background may be considered as intertwined with the political, social, religious, and other circumstances that serve to set the movement under way. In

⁶ Although these differences represent the active incentive to emigration, this does not imply that the *similarities* between different countries are not of importance. Suppose America had a tropical climate, was inhabited by a Latin people professing the Catholic religion, and was an absolute monarchy. There is good reason to inquire how much emigration would have taken place in such a case. The greater the similarity between the two countries, the more the factors entering into the problem may be termed "latent factors." In the case of Sweden and America there are many such latent factors, which if they had been active, might have influenced the extent of emigration. But both the climate and the social forms, as well as other factors, were so similar that they did not retard or deter emigration. Consequently, the existing differences could act unhampered by many of the neutralizing factors that existed between different European countries. Many of the factors that were latent in the case of Sweden and America were active within Europe. This may partly explain why migrations within Europe are so relatively infrequent, even when considerable economic differences would seem to make them profitable.

⁷ Not all the earlier emigration was idealistic and voluntary individual emigration. The State and capitalistic interests equipped emigrants for certain purposes. But in the voluntary emigrations the same idealistic element was evident in the beginning of numerous groups. The English

many cases these go hand in hand. The religiously discontented are often politically discontented; the politically discontented are socially discontented, etc. For certain individuals one condition may be more important than another. It is hardly possible to distinguish between the different combinations in which these different motives may occur; consequently they will be treated separately.

Political motives.—It has already been pointed out that the part played by political motives is determined, not by actual political conditions, but by the evaluations that men place upon them. But in order to understand these conditions, it is necessary, at least for non-Swedish readers, to call to mind the principal features of the political development so that a background against which to view the popular conception is obtained.

Following the solution of the constitutional question in 1809, interest in Sweden was turned to the form of the Riksdag [Parliament]. Since ancient times the Swedish Riksdag had been divided into four estates. In 1809 the ancient form still remained unchanged, partly because of the delicate state of foreign affairs, which forbade undue excitement over domestic problems. Considerable time was required for the introduction of the necessary reforms; not until 1866 was the Riksdag established on a modern basis. The four estates were then replaced by two chambers, chosen through limited franchise, which excluded large portions of the population from active participation in government. After this time political democratization was re-

emigration to America was started partly for religious and political reasons, the German emigration in the early part of the last century was politically colored; the Norwegian emigration was influenced by religious discontent, etc. Until a more complete correlation can be made of the origins of different emigrations, it cannot be said to what extent the idealistically colored period of organization is universal. It seems probable that, in initial stages, it is the rule, rather than the exception, especially if consideration be given to the uncertainty and risk of these early enterprises.

tarded, never gaining real momentum until the reforms of 1909 and 1918, when suffrage was extended to increasingly greater numbers of the population. It may be said that in this respect Sweden is now fully as far advanced as any other country.⁸

It is only just to admit that during the greater part of the period of emigration there existed considerable differences, at least formally, between political liberality in Sweden and in America, and that these differences were no doubt felt by the people. Taken by and large, the popular tradition as to the political superiority of America has persisted even to the present day. It remained even after many of the reasons for its inception had ceased to exist. Time is required for popular sentiment to adjust itself to a changing situation,⁹ thus representing a true case of social lag.

It is no doubt true that political reasons were a factor at least up to 1890, and perhaps longer, viz., during the greater part of the period of emigration. This might to some extent be interpreted as a rationalization of the decision to emigrate. In any case the acuteness of the political attitude decreases as emigration proceeds.

Political sentiment was not the same in all classes. Be-

⁸ The following table gives the number of persons entitled to the vote in Sweden at different times. It should be noted that woman suffrage first came into effect in the election of 1921.

ORDINARY ELECTIONS	TOTAL	PER CENT OF POPULATION
1872.....	236,120	5.62
1884.....	291,668	6.34
1896.....	309,889	6.30
1905.....	432,099	8.21
1908.....	503,128	9.36
1911.....	1,066,200	19.31
1921.....	3,222,917	56.30

(Guinchard, *Sweden*, p. 203, and *Statistisk Årsbok*)

⁹ This idea has been analyzed in its theoretical implications under the concept "social lag" by W. F. Ogburn in his volume, *Social Change* (1921).

cause of its sympathy with the existing system, the ruling class saw in its maintenance only a further benefit for Sweden. For the large class that spent its life in daily toil, taking little interest in what happened beyond the confines of the native village, the political forms were matters also of minor importance. The dissatisfaction arose among other elements—among those who wished to advance, those who were trying to rise above their circumstances but felt hampered and humiliated by a form of government that excluded the greatest part of the population from active participation.

Through contact with American ideals, this class also rose to a new consciousness of its situation. But much of this feeling undoubtedly was originated in America. Returned Swedish Americans and Swedes in America were the first to proclaim to their countrymen at home the superiority of American political ideals and practices. Even if this be discounted, however, it will be found time and time again that emigrants, especially the earlier ones, regard political motives as the most important causes of emigration.¹⁰

This point of view is well expressed by Colonel Hans Mattson, one of the most notable of the earlier Swedish emigrants, who rose to the position of Secretary of the State of Minnesota. He writes:

Much has been said about the causes of emigration. These are numerous, but the chief cause I have found to be that people of the Old World are now being aroused to the fact that the social conditions of Europe, with its aristocracy and other privileges, are not founded on just principles, but that the way of success ought to be equally open for all, and determined, not by privileges of birth, but by inherent worth of man. And here in America is found a civilization which is, to a large extent, built on equality and the recognition of personal merit. This and the great natural resources of the coun-

¹⁰ I have arrived at this opinion partly through a study of letters and other data from the period in question, and partly through conversations with persons who themselves, or whose parents, participated in the earlier phases of the movement.

try, the prospects of good wages, which the new continent affords, and in many cases religious liberty, draw the people of Europe, at any rate from Sweden, to this country.¹¹

Popular dissatisfaction found expression in such catch-words as "In America there is no king and no petty pastors." After coming to America the emigrants entertained an almost touching respect for American democracy and freedom.¹²

They spoke of American political institutions with reverence, and felt a deep responsibility in citizenship and the obligations it involved.¹³ This attitude contrasts sharply with their attitude towards similar institutions in Sweden. The American institutions seemed as superior as the Swedish were inferior. It is impossible to make any kind of quan-

¹¹ Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences* (St. Paul, 1892), p. 296.

¹² From the earliest times Swedish Americans have displayed a strong inclination to express their feelings in verse. The Swedish-American newspapers are flooded with poetry, often of a most lamentable nature. Hardly an issue appears without one or more such contributions by more or less well-known writers. From the psychological point of view, many of these are extremely interesting.

The following verse shows in a naïve and appealing manner the conception of America that prevailed among the earlier emigrants. It was written by F. O. Nilson, who was deported from Sweden in 1851 on account of his Baptist propaganda.

*Here on Columbia's far-reaching strand
Has Nature bestowed a magnificent dower,
Which inspires in the bosom a rhapsody grand,
With almost enravishing power.
Yet all this rare beauty the eye here doth view,
But seems to increase my longing anew
For Sweden.*

*But because all men here are equal and free,
The United States always will be dear to me.*

—A. G. Hall, *Svenska Baptisternas historia* (Chicago, 1900).

¹³ It would not be difficult to give illustrations of this tendency. I shall only call attention to the fact that Unonius tells in his memoirs how the first Swedish emigrants sometimes refrained from exercising their right to vote, even after becoming citizens, not because of lack of interest but because they still felt themselves too ignorant of American conditions to make the proper use of this privilege. Official demonstrations of Swedish-

titative estimation of the significance of this element, but it is testified to so abundantly that it would be highly inadvisable to attempt to class it as a mere bagatelle, which may easily occur if one loses sight of the fact that the character of emigration has changed and seeks uniform explanations and reasons to cover the entire period of emigration from 1840 up to the present time.

Social motives.—Together with political dissatisfaction there exists another type, so closely allied that it can be distinguished only with difficulty, namely, social dissatisfaction. Class distinctions and a certain formality in social intercourse are often advanced as causes of emigration. It is possible that these distinctions are of little absolute significance. But, unlike the political conditions, they are always in evidence, and the reaction that arose against them bears no necessary relation to the real value of the motive, were this susceptible to measurement. It is not difficult to understand that one might feel more humiliated to be obliged to take off one's hat to a large number of superiors than to be deprived of the right of voting perhaps once every four years. Consciousness of status or lack of it may act as powerful motives in emigration, as in other spheres of social activity. It is often surprising to learn how much value the emigrants set upon the degree of formal equality existing in America. To be called "Mister" by one and all, to be able to greet others without removing the hat, seemed to them to give an assurance of the equality of man.¹⁴

American eloquence are flooded with solemn expositions of the excellence of America. Sometimes they assume a tone which in its simple straightforwardness calls to mind American oratory of the style of Lincoln. "We are not here to seek office, but to make ourselves worthy so that the office will seek us. . . . Ten thousand good-for-nothings have no more right to an office than one." D. Nyvall, *Medsols, tre fosterländska tal* (Chicago, 1898).

¹⁴ This external equality is interpreted, so to speak, symbolically. It is not the actual taking off of the hat, but the supposed implication of inferiority to the upper classes that arouses the indignation of the people.

In his novel, *The Emigrants*, dealing with the Norwegian emigration to America, Johan Bojer tells how a peasant congregation reacted towards the idea of the external equality of America. The same might have been written about the Swedish situation in the middle of the last century.

Outside the church the next day the returned American, Erik Foss, had gathered a little crowd around him. . . . He was quite the center of attraction today: when the clergyman appeared, the hats did not fly off as quickly as usual. Erik Foss had just been saying that there were no class distinctions in America: a laborer or a parson—one was just as good as the other. His audience could hardly believe their ears. They looked around at Brandt from Lindegaard, who was so much finer than other folks that he had to have a special pew with a gilded grille, like a little private paradise, at one side of the church, and they looked at the sheriff, taking their hats off as in duty bound, but all thinking: America . . . no class distinctions . . . just think of that! Then they saw the colonel from Dyrendal coming; and he was the greatest man of the lot, so they had to make way for him. Hats off, hats off! But strange to say, Erik Foss took no notice of any of these great personages. "Why don't you take off your hat?" one man asked in a scandalized tone. "I only take it off for people I know," answered Erik. Ah, it was well for an American to talk like that!

But neither political nor social dissatisfaction ever came to organized expression. They had a powerful effect on the individual, but subsequently there was no possibility of measuring or estimating their significance. The investiga-

The conversion that the emigrant feels himself to be undergoing in America is admirably depicted in the following extract from one of Gustav Fröding's poems:

*I was a tailor's errand-boy
In the land of Sweden, far away,
Now I am MISTER Johansson,*

*Three dollars is my pay each day,
And I'm a gentleman, they say,
You might have been my missis now. . . .*

*And worn new gloves and a fine dress
Like the American noblesse,
And lived on goose and spareribs, too. . . .*

tor can only call attention to their existence, and leave it to the subjective judgment of his readers to determine how much significance should be attached to them.

Religious motives.—It is likely, however, that religious reasons were the most important of the idealistic motives in the beginning of emigration. The various denominations came to possess a more or less strong organization. As a rule it is not difficult to ascertain a person's religious views, since they usually are indicated by membership in an organization for which statistical data often are available. For this reason the idealistic tone of the earliest emigration is better illustrated in the religious field than in any other.

Just as it is necessary to take the political situation in Sweden into consideration in order to judge political motives, so is it necessary to consider the religious background in order to understand the reaction of the emigrant to religious conditions. When emigration began, the external forms of the Swedish State Church were rigid and rather antiquated. The Church represented the State from the religious side.¹⁵

Public worship was monopolized by the State Church, and little room remained for private manifestations of religious activity. As long as the majority of the population were in agreement with the institutional forms of the State Church, no cause was given for discontent leading to emigration.

The fact is sometimes overlooked that even after opposition had arisen, it involved only a minority. The majority, if not warm adherents of the State Church, did not feel its dominance as oppression. This is easily understood if we consider the function of the Church in earlier times. It was not merely a religious organization; it fulfilled a social and cultural mission as well. The church was

¹⁵ In the words of Gustavus Adolphus: "The Majesty of the Swedish Kingdom and the Church of God *which rests therein.*"

a meeting-place: the Sunday services were often the most important social events of the week, giving people an opportunity to come into contact with the outside world. Not infrequently the pastor was the only well-educated man in his parish, the man who gave the people the most vital cultural stimulation. The Church was largely responsible for the building up of Swedish popular education. From it the people derived most of their esthetic impressions. It embodied the most beautiful things in life. In all the crises of life, its presence was felt. The Church administered baptism to the newly born and followed them through life till the time came for them to be laid to rest under the murmuring lindens of the cemetery, sheltered by the walls of the church.

In spite of the conservative form of the Church and its close relation to the State, a certain degree of self-government was granted to its communicants. In most parishes they could choose their own pastors.¹⁶ It was a strange mixture of democracy and ancient autocracy. It probably would be no exaggeration to say that in earlier times this special type of ecclesiastical organization generally fulfilled its function to the satisfaction of the people.

The attitude of the later Swedish Americans towards religious matters in America would seem to indicate that the Swedish State Church satisfied the demands of the majority, even after the beginning of religious opposition. The Augustana Synod, the great Swedish Lutheran Church organization of America, is in respect to doctrine a direct copy of the old Swedish State Church of the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁷

¹⁶ Exceptions were the donative and royal pastorates, where the pastors were appointed by a certain individual or by the king. These were, however, comparatively few.

¹⁷ It is a strange phenomenon, well worth study, that the Augustana Synod, like other religious organizations among the emigrants in America, displays far more conservatism in dogma, not to say Fundamentalism,

Another expression of sympathy with the mother church is found in the fact that the early emigrants sought to acquire Swedish churchmen for their growing religious institutions.¹⁸ The previously mentioned majority—if a majority it be—of adherents to the State Church attracted little attention in the earlier emigration. The minority who had reasons for dissatisfaction were heard and noticed more. It was from this minority that the first recruits to emigration were won.

When emigration began, a number of religious movements were in progress in Sweden, partly in opposition to the State Church, which did not advocate a sufficiently fervent form of piety to satisfy certain portions of the population.¹⁹ Religious activity outside of the Church conflicted with the traditions and views of that institution.

The authorities met this situation by putting into practice an old ordinance, the so-called "Conventicle Edict,"

than the parent church or certain native American churches. This is partly elucidated in Professor George Stephenson's work, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod* (Rock Island, 1927). Stephenson cites the following from a letter from Esbjörn, founder of the Augustana Synod, to Hasselquist, another of its leading figures:

"I said to him that in America we have learned to love and understand the Lutheran doctrine better than we did in Sweden. We are stronger Lutherans than we were there" (p. 32).

¹⁸ The author has sometimes encountered among Swedish Americans an almost lyrical expression of the significance of the church, in places where it would seem least likely to be found. Their longing for their native country often centers around the church. They like to imagine their old homes on some quiet evening when the sound of the church bells is carried over the fields from the little white church. This is no doubt rooted in the fact that the church in large measure satisfied their craving for beauty and represented a reality that rose above the commonplace.

Cf. also Stephenson, *loc. cit.*; G. Andreen, "Augustana Synoden och dess verksamhet," in *Svenskarna i Amerika*, II, 98. "In 1852 Galesburg called Dr. T. N. Hasselquist. In 1853 Immanuel Parish in Chicago called Dr. Erland Carlson, in 1855 Pastor Jonas Swensson, and in 1856 Pastor O. C. T. Andreen, etc. . . ."

¹⁹ Concerning the causes and origins of these movements see chap. xvii. They were doubtless a consequence of as well as a cause of emigration.

which forbade laymen to gather people together for purposes of prayer and Bible reading, even in private homes. Swedish citizens were forbidden to leave the State Church. The Conventicle Edict was repealed in 1858, and religious freedom was granted in 1873. Active persecution of dissenters [or *läsare* (readers)], as they were called from their custom of meeting to read the Bible] by the State authorities took place previous to 1873. No legal religious persecution, practically speaking, took place after this time, though *läsare* still may have felt the sting of social and other forms of discrimination. It was sufficient to engender a feeling of oppression, uncertainty, and homelessness. The dissenters were welded together by a common feeling of alienship and isolation.

It is impossible here to treat religious influences in full. For the present we must be content to exemplify the tendencies in certain religious groups. Through seeing the action of these influences in specific cases, we can to some extent feel justified in drawing conclusions as to the general tendency. A number of independent religious emigrations arose from the background depicted above. The most notable of these is described below.

Erik Jansonism.—About 1840, Erik Janson, a farmer from Upland, began to preach a rather peculiar new gospel, which he had developed under the influence of Methodism, and he won many adherents. This movement was somewhat fantastic in conception and not infrequently led to excesses. Naturally it soon came into conflict with the Conventicle Edict, and Janson, as well as certain of his adherents, was subjected to persecution. This occasioned the thought of emigrating to America and there founding a new and better religious community. In 1845 Janson sent a man to America to investigate conditions there. At the advice of Olof Gustav Hedström, previously mentioned as one of the founders of Swedish-American Methodism, land

was selected in Illinois. Janson himself went to America the following year, accompanied by several of his adherents, and between 1845 and 1854 about fifteen hundred persons followed their example. At Bishop Hill, Illinois, Janson founded a communistic settlement, over which he wielded almost absolute power.²⁰ Emigration ceased after his violent death, and after a period of vicissitudes the colony finally came to an end.

Considering the small scope of the earlier emigration, this group comprises a very important part thereof. Long after the colony was disbanded and its members were scattered to the four winds, their letters continued to attract new emigrants, especially from Northern Sweden, the home of most of the original members of the colony.

Apart from this, the experiment is interesting in that the motives are exceptionally well defined. Janson's followers were a strangely assorted group. Among them were not a few wealthy individuals who had little or no prospect of economic gain through emigration. These, as well as the less well situated—serving-people and small farmers—were possessed by the same religious fanaticism, which took no thought of costs and worldly goods when contrasted with the advantage of reaching a new Canaan, and which impelled them to flee from the impiety of Sweden. Erik Jan-

²⁰ Erik Janson was a rather remarkable man. He possessed unusual powers and exerted an almost hypnotic influence over his adherents. In many respects he was like Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism. He received his inspiration through voices, and like Smith, founded an oligarchic, communistic settlement, over which he ruled arbitrarily. Although there is little doubt as to his ability, opinions vary as to his honesty and sincerity. Cf. Norelius, *loc. cit.*; Ernst W. Olson *et al.*, *The Swedes in Illinois* (Chicago, 1908); Anna Söderblom, "Läsare och Amerikafarare på 1840-talet," *Julhelg*, Upsala, 1925; Gustaf Unonius, *Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i Nordvästra Amerika* (Upsala, 1861, 1862), I, 335-337; Emil Hernelius, *Erik Jansonismens historia* (Jönköping, 1900), pp. 138 ff.; and Sivert Erdahl, "Eric Janson and the Bishop Hill Colony," in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XVIII, October, 1925.

sonism is a good example of how a whole sect could be torn from its native environment and replanted in new soil. Emigration exhausted the strength of the movement in Sweden, and after a time it lost all significance. The only movement with which it may be compared in kind is the emigration brought about later through Mormonistic propaganda.²¹ Nevertheless it throws light upon the imperative nature of the motives that inspired a large share of the earlier emigrants. A more normal movement, however, was the emigration of the Swedish Baptists to America.

Baptist emigration.—The first Baptist church was founded in Sweden in 1847. The first Swedish-American Baptist Church was founded five years later, in 1852. The beginning of the Baptist emigration lies within this five-year period. The Swedish Baptist Church never became numerically great. In 1869 its membership was estimated to be 8,169, and even as late as 1895 an estimate of its membership gave only 38,094 persons.²²

The Baptists also came into conflict with the authorities because of their religion. A certain sporadic persecution was carried on until 1873, but the actual extent of this persecution was not great in comparison with the membership of the sect. The Baptists themselves give the following figures: Total fines imposed upon Baptists, 28,000 Swedish crowns (about \$6,750). Total time spent in prison on account of religious offenses, 98 years, 8 months. Number of persons deported, 10.²³

²¹ The Mormon movement never attained great quantitative significance in Sweden, nor is it of the same technical significance as the Jansenistic movement. It is estimated that around eight thousand persons emigrated on these grounds between 1850 and 1909. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. III.

²² Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 216; Cf. also C. V. Palmblad, *Religionsförföljelsen i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1878), and J. Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare eller F. O. Nilssons lif och verksamhet* (Stockholm, 1910), pp. 293 ff., and N. J. Nordström, *En kulturbild från 1800-talets religiösa brytningstid* (Stockholm, 1926), pp. 207 ff.

In the absolute sense these figures are not very imposing when distributed among a community of several thousand persons, over a period of about twenty years. But they are important in that they show how comparatively little pressure is necessary to engender dissatisfaction and a feeling of uncertainty and an inclination to adopt unusual measures in order to escape this pressure.²⁴

We are fortunate in possessing data as to the magnitude of the Baptist emigration from year to year. The above-mentioned work by Hall, which apparently has hitherto been entirely ignored, gives certain figures that in all probability are reliable.²⁵ Their importance for purposes of illustration can hardly be overestimated. Up to 1900 a total of about ten thousand persons had emigrated from this relatively small group. This represents an unusually high proportion of the group as a whole. It is even more interesting to follow the development of the Baptist emigration as compared with the total emigration from Sweden (see Table 2).

Up to 1875 the Baptist emigration was considerably stronger, relatively, than the total emigration. In 1871 it was relatively more than six times as great as the total emigration. A decided falling off occurs in the seventies. Between 1874 and 1878 the Baptist emigration remains on about the same plane as the total emigration, then begins to increase again. The high level previous to 1874 and the sudden drop bringing the level of Baptist emigration below the total are explained by the granting of religious free-

²⁴ This circumstance is worth considering in its bearing on the influence of political motives. The reaction against oppression seems to be stronger than against conditions that arise from what is considered to be necessity, as is the case with economic conditions.

²⁵ As will be shown later, the variations in different years are in surprisingly good agreement with those for emigration in general, even though certain exceptions occur. These can usually be explained by other circumstances.

TABLE II

BAPTIST EMIGRATION COMPARED WITH TOTAL EMIGRATION

YEAR	BAPTISTS			TOTAL SWEDISH EMIGRATION PER THOUSAND OF POPULATION**	RELATION BETWEEN COLUMNS 4 AND 5
	Number of Members*	Number of Emigrants*	Emigrants Per Thousand of Members		
1869	8,120	244	30.4	11.2	2.7
1870	8,617	177	20.5	5.7	3.6
1871	8,780	236	26.9	4.0	6.7
1872	9,366	79	8.4	3.5	2.4
1873	9,678	92	9.6	2.9	3.3
1874	10,160	24	2.4	1.3	1.8
1875	10,490	13	1.2	1.9	0.6
1876	11,645	15	1.3	1.7	0.8
1877	13,733	29	2.1	1.2	1.8
1878	16,467	26	1.6	1.6	1.0
1879	18,928	184	9.7	3.8	2.6
1880	19,297	470	24.8	9.7	2.6
1881	19,666	577	29.3	10.4	2.8
1882	22,891	676	29.5	11.3	2.6
1883	25,277	327	13.0	6.7	1.9
1884	27,135	246	9.1	4.6	2.0
1885	28,766	173	6.0	3.9	1.5
1886	31,062	335	10.8	6.0	1.8
1887	31,849	672	21.2	9.9	2.1
1888	32,305	600	18.6	9.7	1.9
1889	33,479	352	10.5	6.0	1.8
1890	34,814	325	9.3	6.0	1.6
1891	36,713	457	12.5	7.8	1.6
1892	36,585	679	18.6	8.3	2.2
1893	36,291	509	14.1	7.1	2.0
1894	37,601	117	3.1	0.9	3.4
1895	38,094	220	5.8	2.5	2.3

* Hall, *op. cit.*, I, 221.** *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. V.

dom in 1873, which resulted in an immediate decrease in emigration. The emigration curve for Baptists, which previously had deviated widely from the curve for the total emigration, began to follow the general development after 1873, but on a higher level.²⁶ Naturally this does not sig-

²⁶ The higher level of Baptist emigration after 1878 cannot be explained entirely by religious motives. The fact that the curve coincides with the principal economic crises points to a common chain of causes, but of a more powerful nature. This will be discussed in chap. iii.

nify that religious conditions were not of importance even after the introduction of religious freedom. It is possible that the rise after 1878 was occasioned by disappointment with the results of religious freedom. Perhaps the reform did not fulfil all of its promises. Many of the old views may have persisted, so that the Baptists still felt themselves in an uncongenial atmosphere. This may have been responsible for a portion of the higher emigration, but it is hardly likely that the entire explanation lies in this circumstance.

On the whole the Baptist emigration points to an intimate relation between emigration and the religious situation of the minority. Religious conditions, lack of liberty, persecutions, and general uncertainty during the earlier epoch of emigration brought about a far greater emigration from this group than from others.

There is no reason to suppose that the same is not the case in other groups of similar nature.²⁷ It is entirely probable that a similar reaction against the same conditions arose among the Methodists and the various groups of *läsare*, affecting the same social classes and bringing about essentially the same results as among the Baptists.

The greater part of the earlier emigration was recruited from among the classes that felt attracted to America for reasons other than economic, although a reasonable assurance of economic success was essential. Their reasons might be political, religious, or romantic. Because of this difference in motives, the character of the earlier emigrants is essentially different from that of the later, who did not need to fulfil the same qualifications in order to be attracted by emigration. The earlier emigrants were to a large extent men of courage, enterprise, and serious religious and political views, who were attracted by the greater freedom

²⁷ The emigration of the *Lutherläsare* has already been mentioned in chap. i.

of American social conditions. They represent the Puritan strain in Swedish emigration.

The conditions that led to the continuation of emigration were not of the same importance for the later stages of the movement. This was partly due to the fact that a complete revolution in external conditions was effected with the establishment of regular steamship traffic on the Atlantic, the construction of railroads, and the opening of the European grain market to American wheat, which contributed a great deal towards making farming a profitable occupation. These subjects have been partially treated in chapter i. But this is only one side of the problem. The other is the rise of a Swedish-American population having active contact with their countrymen in Sweden. Their descriptions and their assistance helped to create a powerful pattern for continued emigration. Unless this organization is taken into account, it is impossible to understand the scope and character of the later emigration. This organization is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE PATTERN OF MASS EMIGRATION ¹

The first emigrants met and conquered obstacles and dangers wholly unknown to the majority of their successors, who came as part of a great organized mass movement. The decrease in the force of the frictional factors encountered by the movement has already been discussed. Another factor contributing to greater ease of emigration is the pattern effected through a continuous emigration. The significance of this pattern is twofold. First, the active communications with America serve to give the people a more

¹ The concept of "social pattern" has been generally accepted by American sociologists. In any culture group there are individual habits common to the group members. These common habits involve all aspects of life. Observation of the behavior of the group members shows, however, that these common habits become interrelated; groups of the common habits function as units; they form, when objectively regarded, a system, or a *Gestalt*. To such a system of habits the name *pattern* is given. One may properly speak of the "athletic pattern" of any society—those common and integrated habits which taken together constitute the athletic activity of the group members. Or one may speak of the "educational pattern," having in mind the common habits (with the material objects utilized in connection with them) that taken together constitute the educational practices of any culture group.

The pattern, however, is something more than the summation of individual habits; it is a summation that also involves integration. The resulting pattern, furthermore, itself becomes a stimulus influencing the behavior of newcomers to the group as well as those who are growing up within it. Also, while the pattern is carried as individual habits, it may be regarded as "super-individual" or social in that it is dependent upon no given individual, and also shapes the behavior of all individuals.

It is in this sense that I have spoken of the pattern of emigration in any group: those habits and the relationships between them that have developed out of a common social background, and which serve, taken as a unit, as a stimulus to the behavior of the individuals. Cf. M. J. Herskovits, "Social Pattern: A Methodological Study," *Social Forces*, Vol. IV, 1925, pp. 57-69.

vivid, tangible, and abundant knowledge of conditions there.² America is brought into the focus of the popular imagination and is transformed from a hazy conception into a living reality. Second, the difficulties of the journey are diminished, partly through funds for the journey supplied by relatives and friends in America to those at home, and partly through already existing settlements, which provide the emigrant with a starting point in the process of adjusting himself to his new surroundings. The shock of meeting with American conditions is partly absorbed, as Americanization goes on in a half Swedish, half American milieu.

These circumstances are sometimes advanced as causes of emigration. This is of course correct in the sense that without the greater facility of emigration afforded by pattern, the movement would have been less extensive. But logically this explanation is hardly satisfactory. Causes of this kind are basically different from the rest. They are what might correctly be termed "precipitating causes." A cause of emigration that is caused by emigration itself cannot but occasion suspicion. It would be just as correct to maintain that the riverbed is the cause of the flooding of the river. The same applies to the relation between pattern and emigration. Returning to the simile of the river:

² Some authors attach great importance to the way in which such knowledge is imparted to the emigrant. The propaganda of steamship lines and their agents, who are prone to overcolor their pictures of an American Utopia, is advanced as a "cause" of emigration. The resulting emigration is called "artificial," as opposed to that occasioned by more or less "spontaneous" knowledge, like that which stimulated the early Swedish emigration, which was a "natural" emigration. This discussion of "artificial" and "natural" emigration is stressing a relatively unimportant point. Even if the earlier Swedish emigration had been brought about through the influence of information supplied by agents, it would have been neither more nor less "natural" than it was in reality. Moreover, if a group obtains a false knowledge of America in a "spontaneous" way, i.e., through mostly ungrounded rumors, this does not make its emigration any more natural. Cf. Fairchild, *Immigration* (New York, 1914).

when the pressure of the water in a dam begins to break down the retaining wall, the first indication is a small fissure, which is gradually widened by the force of the water. The cause of the flood is not the enlarged fissure, but the pressure of the dammed-up water behind it, which finds an outlet through the breaking down of the barriers. In the same manner as the movement of the river is to a certain extent increased by the movement itself, in overcoming the initial moments of inertia, so is the stream of emigration flooded by the breaking down of the initial obstructions.

Thus it is rather misleading to mention in the same breath the activities of agents, letters from America, economic motives, love of adventure, and religious persecution, as coequal causes of emigration. All these factors enter in, but their significance is technically of a different order.³

In order to understand the later mass movement, which began in the sixties, it is necessary to consider the pattern that arose through continuous emigration. It may be said that the period of preparation for emigration extended approximately from 1840 to 1860. This does not mean that the pattern did not continue to grow after this time—it spread constantly to new localities and classes. But the initial difficulties affected only a minor part of the total participants in the movement. It is obvious that only a small fraction of the total number of emigrants could be pioneers. Accordingly, even if the above-described process were re-

³ This type of systematization is, however, to be considered the rule. Cf. Mayo Smith, *Emigration and Immigration* (New York, 1890); H. P. Fairchild, *loc. cit.* For the Scandinavian group see G. T. Flom, "The Scandinavian Factor in American Population," *Iowa Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. III, 1905. Flom advances a large number of different reasons, among which are: "*First*, the prospect of material betterment. . . . *Second*, letters from relatives and friends. . . . *Third*, the advertising agents; *Fourth*, religious persecution; *Fifth*, church proselytism. . . . *Sixth*, political oppression, etc. . . ." Cf. also *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet.

peated frequently on a varying scale, there is no theoretical reason why it should be accorded further attention.

The pattern of emigration embraces two major elements, (1) knowledge and (2) the help rendered to friends and relatives at home by those who have already emigrated. These two elements find expression partly through the same mechanism, and are often so closely interrelated that it is difficult to distinguish between them. They must, however, be considered separately.

A common background for the pattern of emigration is furnished by conditions in Swedish America. Consequently it is necessary to touch upon the character of the Swedish settlements in America.

The Swedish-American background of emigration.—To begin with, the Swedes in America settled close together. Persons from the same tract usually settled in the same locality in America, Västgötar with Västgötar, Smålänningar with Smålänningar. Those from the same village or district sometimes planned their community partly after the Swedish pattern. In this way new Stockholms, Faluns, Vasas, and Moras sprang up. In considering this fact one must remember that provincial feeling was often a greater force than national feeling. This is easily understood, since the majority of the emigrants had only a limited knowledge of Sweden as a whole, or of Swedish culture and Swedish history. The home province, on the other hand, was more tangible, something the emigrant knew and understood.⁴ The strength of this local feeling is shown by its survival even in the second generation. The settlers were largely old friends, relatives, and acquaintances. In reality these

⁴ A personal experience will serve to illustrate this. I asked an old storekeeper in Chisago County, Minnesota, what nationality he was. "Jag är smålänning," he answered (I am from Småland—a province in the south of Sweden). "Where were you born?" I asked. "Here," he answered, without a moment's hesitation.

settlements signify a continuation of an old social order on the other side of the Atlantic.⁵

This feeling of a continuation of the old social pattern was so strong that the feeling that America was a foreign country soon diminished. This feeling, further, serves as an admirable illustration of the distinction often stressed by sociologists between *geographical* distance, and what they have come to term "social distance." In the case of the Swedish emigrant, though removed nearly 5,000 miles from his homeland, in terms of the "social distance" involved, he is still but little, if any, separated.⁶ Active communications soon sprang up between the settlements in America and the native district in Sweden. A continuous stream of travelers, letters, and consignments of money flowed between the different branches of the social unit that these groups actually comprised. Through these connections the people in Sweden obtained their information about America and formed the conception that later served as the basis of action.

It is important to examine the nature of the *element of knowledge*. The most influential bearers of information were "America letters" and returned Swedish Americans. The popular conception of America was based on the statements made by these two agencies, and was constantly supplemented by new descriptions and narratives. "America letters" penetrated to the remotest, most humble cottage. To start with, the arrival of such a letter was a great event; after being copied it was circulated and read by the whole

⁵ Cf. Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Poland and America*, II, 11. "When many members of a community are settled in America and keep contacts with their home, America appears almost as an extension of the [Polish] community; it is a part of the latter land simply emigrated to another country."

⁶ See series of articles by E. S. Bogardus in the *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925, 1926, 1927. Also "Social Distance in the City," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XX.

village or countryside; it always remained interesting, and was eagerly devoured not only by the recipient but also by neighbors and acquaintances. Returned emigrants were also great distributors of information. They visited about in their native district with relatives and old friends, always willing to talk about America to anyone who cared to listen. This was intimate, penetrating knowledge, and it permeated society.

As a rule those already emigrated wished to give as favorable an impression of America as possible. This was occasioned both by the zeal of the proselyte for a new gospel and by a laudable desire to spare relatives and friends unnecessary concern.

The Swedish American by no means neglects to emphasize in his letters the advantages of American conditions, and not infrequently he exaggerates them. The portion of the letter telling how many dollars he earns each day and describing the relatively low cost of living is the most important both to him and to those at home, who immediately multiply his income by 3.75 (the approximate equivalent of a dollar in Swedish crowns) and set up comparisons with Swedish conditions, which inevitably suffer by comparison. . . . Especially during the early period of adjustment, when the emigrant has merely acquainted himself with the advantages of the American scale of wages, and has not yet gained an insight into the fact that the old country may offer some advantages which are lacking in America, are his letters filled with flowery and exaggerated descriptions. "Throw away the axe, spade, or whatever you have in your hand," begins one letter from a recent emigrant, "and come over here at once!" . . .

One circumstance especially should be pointed out in connection with the writing of letters. Not a few of the emigrants fail to make good, and returned Swedish Americans might cite many examples of such failures, but as a rule no indication of this is given in the letters the emigrants write home, as they are much disinclined to mention temporary reverses. Consequently those at home have in most cases all too little knowledge of the darker sides of American life, and receive one-sided impressions from the emigrants who have risen to prosperity and wealth.⁷

⁷ "The disinclination to tell those at home about the reverses met with in America has frequently been commented on, from the earliest days of emigration up to the present time." (*Emigrationsutredningen*,

A similar selection of the material that reaches Sweden regarding America takes place through returning Swedish Americans.⁸ Only those that have attained a certain measure of success can afford the journey. Often they yield to a natural inclination to "show off." The educated classes were long prone to regard such visitors with a more or less amused contempt, noticing especially their affected man-

Bil. VIII, No. 3, p. 46.) In a letter from Kansas in 1868 we read: "It is touching to see one's poor countrymen when they have come to a foreign country and are stranded without a home, without funds or source of income, and without knowledge of the language. Their position generally becomes more desperate than they possibly could have believed when they left home. . . . *With my own eyes I have seen people write home that they are well off even when they are living in the greatest misery.*" (Hildebrand, *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Stockholm, 1924, I, 205.)

The author knows a man in one of the poorhouses of Chicago who for more than ten years has written home that he is getting on very well and has everything he needs, and never with a word has betrayed his true situation. On the contrary, he seems to have found certain "emotional compensation" in depicting the life he would like to have lived, instead of the drab reality of existence in a charitable institution.

⁸ The motives that lead Swedish Americans to revisit their native land are various. Many, perhaps the great majority, visit Sweden just that they may once more meet their old friends and relatives and see their old home again. Many come with the intention of remaining, for a large share of the emigrants went to America with the firm determination to return as soon as they had saved enough money to satisfy some special ambition. Were it not for this determination to return as soon as possible, many would never have undertaken the journey and they would be the first to deny that they might always remain in America. "The last strip of Swedish coast. . . . My heart was constricted with inexpressible anguish. I searched my soul, and asked myself time after time what I had done that I must leave my fosterland and parents and brothers and sisters and schoolmates. . . . I gained no consolation from trying to imagine that I would not remain away forever, that in a few brief years I would return from the great land of gold, 'laden with the spoils of the West,' and make my dear ones at home independently wealthy. . . ." (Emil Meurling, "Reflektioner på en resa," *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Chicago, December 29, 1927.)

The majority never realize their plans of returning, but even those who do return to fulfil some youthful ambition soon find that they cannot adjust themselves anew. After a time they set out again, usually for always, but many continue to travel to and fro, at home nowhere, everywhere gnawed by a feeling of alienship. Cf. chap. xiii.

ners, their mixed Swedish-American dialect, and their gold-filled smiles. But the impression made on the common people was far different. To them the foreign clothes and manners were much finer than a poor man in Sweden could even dare to hope for.

Their very behavior, often not a little jaunty—the men in fine “gentlemen’s clothes,” wearing shiny gold watch-chains across their vests and displaying wallets stuffed with bills, the women in showy hats and silk dresses—all this did not fail to make a deep impression on the youth at home and set their imaginations agog. The visitors were regarded with a curious interest when they came to church on Sunday in all their elegance, and their achievements were an inexhaustible topic of discussion.⁹

The effect was so much the greater since these people were formerly simple folk. “They were just ordinary boys like the rest of us before they left home.” What was the use in toiling on forever at home, when it was so easy to make money in America, as these returned friends had done.

Although in some respects one-sided and often exaggerated, the knowledge of America spread in this way was based presumably on reliable first-hand information. In reality this agitation was so effective that no organization, however strong and well planned, could hope to compete with it. It was eagerly received, it was dramatic in nature; supported by the most convincing human evidence, it reached the remotest homes, and continued year after year. It is not surprising that the external propaganda from steamship lines and railroads was relatively unimportant in comparison with this spontaneous interest aroused by letters and visitors from America.¹⁰

Any inclination to emigrate was encouraged by the readiness of American relatives and friends to provide tickets and expense money for the journey, to be repaid later. Let-

⁹ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII, No. 4, p. 85.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, Bil. II.

ters often closed with an exhortation to come to America. The close of one such letter is typical: "I am sending you a little money to help you. Now please ask Ida whether or not she wants to come to America." In another letter, "You're foolish to stay home and work for peasants." But as a rule the letters go further than mere questions or arguments like the above. Offers to send home steamship tickets follow, and if any hesitation remained, it soon vanished upon the arrival of the ticket. This readiness to supply steamship tickets is unusually common, and when the emigrants started out they had generally already received their tickets from America. One Swedish American tells with a certain pride how during his stay in America he "took over" twelve of his friends.¹¹

Hand in hand with this ease in obtaining money for the journey itself goes the assistance rendered to new arrivals by countrymen in America. It was only natural that one who had thus been provided with a ticket should turn first of all to the person who sent it, in whose interest it lay to see that the new arrival earned enough to repay his indebtedness, in case his feeling of responsibility was not great enough to prompt such a course.

Even those that journeyed on their own initiative and without assistance had far fewer difficulties to overcome than formerly. The duration of the voyage, as well as the cost and inconveniences, were less than before, and even if the emigrant had no connections in America, he needed only to go to localities where large numbers of Swedes were living to find countrymen whose homes were often open to him and whose organizations were ready to assist him. The significance of the church in the process of assimilation can hardly be overestimated.

"America Fever".—The constant contact between the two countries, the never-ceasing emigration, and the rosy

¹¹ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII, No. 4, p. 85.

pictures of America were bound to give rise to a special atmosphere. Emigration assumed a central place in the life and thinking of the people. The following classical description, drawn from one of the Swedish emigration districts, gives an excellent idea of the psychological effects of continuous emigration:

If one goes into a home to see how a peasant lives or to hear his opinion on emigration, one should not be surprised if he states that some or all of his children are in America. Moreover, one soon finds that it is hardly worth while to look for a farm where none of the relatives are in America. On the bureaus stand the American portraits of those that went over last, on the walls hang group photographs of perhaps fifteen or twenty relatives in the U.S.A. One can go from cottage to cottage and always find these American portraits and an assortment of American knick-knacks. Here is a lamp-shade embellished with some motto in English, here a chair-tidy bearing the names of the months in English and a Swedish-American dedication from a daughter or daughter-in-law, here on the sideboard a colored glass with gold rim and "Fortune favors the brave" in flourishing script; in the stereoscope on the window-sill are 42 pictures, only two of which are from Sweden, portraying the old match factory at Jönköping and the Göta Canal, all the rest being from the U.S.A. There one can see how genteel folk live in New York, how they are married in glittering ballrooms with wedding guests in festal attire, how they eat luxurious food at tables groaning under the weight of sparkling champagne glasses and bowls of rare fruit, how they stroll in enchanting parks with purling fountains and close-clipped lawns, how they ride in immense streetcars or elevated trains, how passengers amuse themselves on the stately Atlantic liners, etc.

The little boy and girl grow up in this American milieu. The only beauty that comes into their lives comes through American gimcracks or American pictures, the only news they hear from the outside world comes through the letters father or mother read to them when mail comes from the older brother or sister in Illinois or Massachusetts. The letters abound in English idioms, and often assume a facetious tone of commiseration with the poor relatives at home. All this imposes on the younger ones, and heightens their already aroused desire to "go over" to the wonderful land across the sea. It can never be so grand or genteel in Jösse [Värmland] as in Chicago or Idaho; the wonderful things that happen in the U.S.A. could never happen in Sweden. And if a visitor ever comes to their little home it is an elegant lady or equally elegant gentleman from America, who used to

work in the fields here at home and answer to some common name, but who now lives on money and has a much prettier and better name. Similarly with the children in the home. *They grow up and are educated to emigrate* [*italics mine*].

The finest portrait on the wall at home is probably that of Grover Cleveland, William McKinley, or Theodore Roosevelt, and next to that the German Kaiser and his family. The books are albums of views from the U.S.A. or Swedish-English dictionaries, or "Statistical Calendars" of America. The only things in Swedish to be seen are some elaborately lettered Bible verses, in frames on the wall.

After hearing old farmers conversing in English in a cafe or reading-room in Arvika, one understands the reason for it, and is hardly surprised. Many have been in America and have returned, that is evident when one travels along the country roads and sees men working in the same clothes and Panama hats that they used on their farms in Minnesota. . . . Everything seems to be a preparation for emigration. It is the basis of education, and it is easier to borrow money for a ticket to America than for a ticket to Stockholm.¹²

The result was that the desire to emigrate gripped the individual like an infection. In popular language it was called by the fitting name, "America Fever."¹³ For the individual it was not a question of a rational decision, in the usual sense of the word. The desire to emigrate was too

¹² *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII, No. 2, pp. 82-84.

¹³ In order to study the progress of an epidemic, e.g., smallpox, the investigator starts by seeking the source of infection. Assume that the disease was brought from some foreign country by sailors. The first cases may be traced to contacts between these carriers of infection and such persons as waiters or shopkeepers. As the number of infected persons increases, the contacts and chances of infection become so numerous that it is impossible to follow the path of infection, however desirable this might be. Theoretically, at least, infection is more or less completely present in certain localities. The investigator must now adopt another method for ascertaining the distribution of the epidemic. He studies the factors that determine susceptibility to the disease, such as the prevalence of vaccination, sanitation, and the hygienic measures observed in the distribution of the milk and food supply. Through examining a sufficient number of these factors he can with a certain assurance explain and even predict the progress of the epidemic in different classes and localities.

This is analogous to a study of the "America Fever." The first scattered cases of emigration can be explained through the circumstances that allow certain individuals a vivid knowledge of America. But after emigration has progressed to a certain point, knowledge of America may be assumed to be general throughout the country. Under these condi-

much based on feelings and subconscious causes to be subject to a rational decision. Children were "educated to emigrate." When they finally arrived at a decision, they merely followed a tradition which made emigration the natural thing in a certain situation. In fact, after the imagination and fantasy had, so to speak, become "charged with America," a positive decision *not* to emigrate may have been necessary if difficulties arose.¹⁴

The relation between pattern and variations in emigration.—Although not a direct cause of emigration in the true sense, pattern is of decisive importance for the inception and expansion of the movement. A good example of the significance of pattern is furnished by the Baptist emigration. Following the marked decrease between 1874 and 1878, after the granting of religious freedom, Baptist emigration again increased powerfully. After this time and up to the turn of the century, it was decidedly higher than that of the total population. This in itself is not so remarkable. Possibly the explanation may be that the class to which the Baptists generally belonged was more receptive to the idea of emigration, either for religious or other reasons, than other classes. What is remarkable is that it exhibits far

tions, the probability of contracting the "America Fever" is determined, not by chance infection with information concerning America, but by the susceptibility of certain groups to the suggestion of emigrating. The circumstances that determine this susceptibility or power of resistance to the "America Fever" will be analyzed in the following.

¹⁴ This partly explains the triviality of the motives often stated as reasons for emigration (Cf. chap. ii, p. 27). In this unstable state of equilibrium, tending so strongly towards America, only a small impulse in one direction or the other is necessary to decide to which expedient the individual will resort. In this case the tendency of the group is the decisive factor. If the individual belongs to a group where emigration is not the rule, these motives are insufficient. If, on the contrary, he belongs to a group where emigration is customary, almost any adversity is sufficient to cause his emigration. Of course this does not exhaust the question of the causes of emigration. The question remains: Why is one group more receptive to such influences than other groups? This problem involves an analysis of the conditions under which the group lives and develops. Individual analyses are insufficient. Cf. chap. ii.

greater variations than the total emigration. In good times and periods of optimism the increase in Baptist emigration is relatively greater, viz., a relatively greater percentage of Baptists than of the remaining participants in emigration emigrate during good times.

This is hardly explicable on the basis of motives only, and surely it is not due to religious oppression. In reality these variations may be considered the consequence of the pattern or organization developed during the earlier period of Baptist emigration. It should be borne in mind that the underlying causes of emigration are long-time phenomena.¹⁵

The more intimate knowledge of American conditions gained through Baptists in the two countries enabled the Swedish Baptists to elect a suitable occasion for their emi-

¹⁵ The fact that a larger percentage of the population emigrates during good rather than during bad times reveals nothing as to their motives. Regardless of the motive impelling an individual, he desires to emigrate under the most favorable conditions possible. Unless the motive is of an absolutely compulsory or urgent nature, it is most advantageous to emigrate when times are good in the United States, work is plentiful, and an optimistic tone prevails. In bad times, on the other hand, it is hard to find work, and adjustment to American conditions is more difficult. The immigrant is generally the first to be laid off in such times, and consequently suffers most.

Thus the variations in good and bad times throw no light upon the motives for emigration. Even before the granting of religious freedom, Baptist emigration followed fluctuations in business cycles. This very simple circumstance can be illustrated by a parallel set of conditions. The number of visitors to Coney Island, New York, varies with the weather and season. Most of the visitors come on fine Saturdays and Sundays during the warm season. The prospective number of visitors can always be determined with fair accuracy from the weather forecasts. It would be jumping at conclusions to say that the weather is the cause of the popularity of Coney Island. But those who wish to amuse themselves there would rather go in good weather than in bad. The same is the case with variations in emigration. Whatever the cause of emigration may be, if knowledge of conditions is available in advance, an attempt is made to fix the time of emigration at as favorable a juncture as possible. The fact that a movement is economically advantageous or is accommodated to economic conditions does not necessarily signify that its causes are economic in nature, although this is often the case. Cf. Gösta Bagge, *Arbetslönens reglering* (Stockholm, 1917), p. 168.

gration. Furthermore, pattern offers another advantage besides the element of knowledge. The ability to emigrate is greater in good times than in bad; this part becomes especially important when a large share of the emigrants have begun to travel on prepaid tickets. It is only natural that Swedish Americans should be more cautious in their expenditures during periods of depression. It is hardly wise to encumber oneself with the care of another person as long as one's own position is insecure and general pessimism prevails.

A similar relation between business cycles and emigration can be shown in other cases. There is a certain interest in comparing the emigration curves for Sweden and for Italy. The Swedish curve for 1840 to 1865 and the Italian curve for *circa* 1875 to 1900 show a similar development. In both cases these refer to the pioneer periods of emigration. During these periods both curves mount rapidly, but without great variations.

Owing to the earlier start of Swedish emigration, strong variations begin to appear in the Swedish curve after about 1860, towards the close of the pioneer period. Consequently, if the two curves are compared up to 1914, that for Sweden exhibits greater fluctuations between good and bad times than the Italian; i.e., the Swedish curve shows, on the whole, a far greater sensibility to business cycles. Naturally it would be incorrect to conclude that the Swedish emigration is in any way more "economic" than the Italian. The reason obviously must be ascribed to pattern,¹⁶ since the Swedish emigration shows not only a stronger but also a

¹⁶ The importance of pattern has been emphasized by G. Steffen in the portion of the Emigration Report entitled "Utvandringen och de ekonomiska konjunkturerna i Sverige och Italien" (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII). "Thus the permanent expansion of Italian emigration and its direction towards transoceanic lands is to be attributed not to 'bad times' [periods of depression in the economic life of the country], but to 'good times' [periods of upswing]. This gives the impression that the driving forces of emigration in Italian social life are *approximately*

more rapid reaction towards business cycles than the Italian.¹⁷

To a certain extent, then, it is correct to regard the fluctuations of emigration with business cycles as an index of the strength of the organization of the movement. The probability that the emigrants will elect a suitable juncture for their emigration is largely determined by the extent of their information and their connections with countrymen already in America. Such a juncture occurs when times are good in America. This tendency is still more strongly evidenced when times are bad in Sweden and good in America. In this event it is hardly likely that emigration could attain such volume were it not for the prepaid tickets sent by friends and relatives in America. Thus both the element of knowledge and the financial assistance rendered to emigrants contribute towards the volume of emigration greatest during good times in America.

Before concluding the discussion of pattern, consideration must be given to the place occupied by emigration in public opinion.

as great in good times as in bad; also that good times increase the ability to emigrate without decreasing the need of emigration" (p. 49).

The element of knowledge of conditions in America should of course be classed as of at least equal importance with the "ability to emigrate."

¹⁷ This is especially pronounced during years when times differ in Sweden and in America. When a crisis occurs earlier in Sweden than in America, and consequently good times prevail in America concurrently with bad times in Sweden, the extreme maxima of emigration occur. The crisis that befell Sweden in 1882 did not affect America until 1884; the Swedish crisis of 1890 was first felt in America in 1893; the Swedish crisis of 1900 appeared in America in 1903. The maxima of Swedish emigration fell in the intermediate periods: 44,359 persons emigrated in 1882; 40,990 in 1892; and 35,439 in 1903.

This goes to show that the condition of the Swedish labor market is not primarily accountable for the ability to emigrate. Owing to decreased earnings during periods of depression, one might expect decreased ability to meet the expense connected with emigration. However this may be, it is in any case true that the ability of Swedish Americans to give financial aid to emigrants in good times is more than strong enough to neutralize this. Cf. Steffen, *loc. cit.*

Public opinion and emigration.—At the outset, emigration was regarded with curiosity. It was too inconsiderable a movement to bring about any great revulsion of feeling among the upper classes, whose interest was focused upon other problems. But as it assumed the form of a mass movement, it became the object of interest and called forth definite opinions. Once these opinions had arisen, they were of great significance for the subsequent development of the movement. They resulted in certain *attitudes* toward emigration, varying in different groups, and these attitudes contributed heavily toward the selection of emigrants.

As has already been shown, emigration from the cultured middle class declined at an early date. Subsequently it was limited chiefly to the peasantry and the poorer classes of city dwellers, from whose ranks, at the beginning, only a small percentage of the total number of emigrants came. Emigration assumed what might well be termed the character of a lower-class movement. It became more and more unusual for persons of the educated or wealthy classes to emigrate without some imperative reason. When such emigration did occur, it usually involved a "black sheep," who had found his native country uncongenial. After the movement was once under way, this circumstance gave rise to an attitude that contributed toward limiting the selection of emigrants to the lower classes. A total break with his class was necessary before an educated or wealthy person could emigrate. This does not mean that it was not possible for many persons from these classes to improve their economic lot through emigration. But it was contrary to the customs of society and an expedient rarely resorted to. This made an almost insuperable barrier between America and persons of the upper classes. It serves to show how insufficient and undependable are the "economic" causes of emigration, when taken alone, for the explanation of the movement.

The attitude developed by the upper classes toward emigration after it had assumed the character of a mass movement may be said to be based chiefly on two factors. One was the patriotic, the other the economic—the fear that emigration would cause a shortage of labor and unreasonably high wages. To a certain degree emigration was regarded as unpatriotic. As a result the lower classes were on the defensive and flatly refused to listen to the admonitions and warnings of the ecclesiastical and legal authorities. The obviously exaggerated statements made by wholly uninformed persons regarding the dangers and sufferings of life in America did not help to increase the confidence of the lower classes. A minister has very ably summed up the situation in a private letter: “People are seized as by an epidemic, and to dissuade them is impossible. They literally shy away, and do not at all want to talk with a minister or person of social standing about the matter. . . .”

This is followed by an explanation of his views on the subject. His views are so typical that they merit quotation. The first reason why one should not leave one's native country is the patriotic, in this case patriotism clad in the garment of religion:

A few Sundays ago I spoke about this that one should not without call from God leave one's own country and that they who with indifference or thoughtlessness exchange all this [what they have in Sweden] for something uncertain, are acting ungratefully and foolishly.

This sermon aroused some indignation among the members of the congregation. “So they were saying on the way home the ministers fear for their privileges and that they will not get servants, etc.” This occasioned reflection, and our interlocutor considers this possibility without arriving at any definite result. “What is one to say? Is it possible that lack of servants will result, or that wages will

rise? Or will the increase of population keep even step with emigration?"¹⁸

This is not the place to judge the extent to which the attitudes of the different classes corresponded to reality. The principal thing is that these attitudes existed; that the actual behavior of the different classes was determined by them, and not by what at the moment was the objective truth.¹⁹

These attitudes were, however, powerful enough to limit emigration as a mass movement to a certain class, regardless of objective conditions, and the resulting limitation of the field of prospective emigrants is essential to a proper understanding of the actual scope and growth of emigration. Until about the turn of the century these attitudes prevailed and were of decisive importance for the greatest and most important phase of the movement, the agrarian emigration.²⁰

¹⁸ Conrad Peterson, "Letters from Pioneer Days," *Swedish Historical Society of America Yearbook*, 1925.

¹⁹ The national element in the limitation of emigration and its significance for the selection of emigrants is very well elucidated for Polish emigration by Thomas and Znaniecki in *The Polish Peasant in Poland and America*. Between the political situations in Sweden and Poland there did exist certain striking differences. In the former case, economic factors tinged with a romantic emphasis tended to dominate, while in the latter the struggle against foreign oppression was paramount. In spite of these differences, the following statement, relating to Polish society, has direct bearing upon an analysis of the Swedish situation: "Of course this opposition of the more representative circles of Polish society was unable to check the emigration among the more passive part of the population. The realization of this led to the acceptance of emigration as a 'necessary evil.'" But although this attitude played only a minor part among the lower classes, it exerted a strong negative influence upon the selection of emigrants, in that it excluded those with active political interests (with the exception of political refugees and exiles). Such persons were often the most desirable emigrants from the point of view of America. This selection is of great importance as an explanation of the character of the Poles in America, and of the development of Polish-American society. (II, 1484 ff.)

²⁰ The subsequent development of opinion under the influence of these factors is taken up in connection with the later types of emigration. But

Summary.—The pioneer period of emigration witnessed the building up of a pattern that cleared the way for and facilitated emigration as a mass movement. More and more knowledge of America was brought to prospective emigrants through constant contact with that country and active communications between Swedish and American communities. The journey to America was made easier through financial assistance rendered by Swedish Americans to friends and relatives in Sweden. The initial difficulties of Americanization were decreased through the rise of a Swedish-American society. Continuous emigration turned the thoughts of the people toward emigration as a normal means of escape from certain situations, often of a trivial nature. Emigration became a movement socially, rather than individually, determined, all these circumstances resulting in a certain pattern of emigration.

The inclination to emigrate and the subsequent organization of the movement were, however, limited to the lower classes, especially the agrarian, while the educated and wealthy and the greater part of the middle classes remained aloof, emigrating only under certain unusual conditions, such as social or financial failure. It is against this pattern that the later emigration must be viewed.

the investigation is greatly facilitated by the isolation of the emigration impulse to the lower classes, as the spiritual barriers that the other classes raised between themselves and America serve to limit the field of study.

CHAPTER IV

THE BACKGROUND OF THE AGRICULTURAL EMIGRATION

The composition of emigration.—Before continuing the study of emigration it is desirable to point out a circumstance self-evident in itself, but important in its effects. During the period that emigration has been in progress, a number of important changes of economic, social, and psychological nature have taken place in both America and Sweden. Conditions in the 1850's do not correspond to those in the 1920's. Different kinds of emigration are brought about by changing social conditions. Emigration does not flow from a single source to a single goal—it really comprises several partly independent movements. Consequently it is of little avail to seek causes and characteristics common to emigration as a whole. The ever changing selective apparatus by which emigration is recruited is always modifying the actual composition of the movement.

Thus it is important to classify the emigrants by groups, in order to study the differences between them, as well as those that arise within the groups themselves in the course of time. The grouping chosen must be determined by the nature of the investigation.¹

In the present study it seems most suitable to follow a traditional classification by *occupations*; this gives a workable, even though imperfect, distinction. But even such a

¹ The conception of emigration as a selective process is relatively new, and has been applied only to a small extent. Perhaps the most clearly formulated expression of this view is that advanced by E. Huntington in an attempt to explain certain traits in the American national character. (*The Nation*, New York, Vol. CXXV, No. 3, p. 239.) Cf. chap. x, below.

TABLE 3
EMIGRATION FROM SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1851-1925 *

YEAR	AGRICULTURE	INHYES OCH BACK- STUGEHJON**	INDUSTRY	UNCLASSIFIED WORKERS	TRADE	NAVIGATION	TJANSTE- HJON†	OTHER OCCU- PATIONS
1851-60	5,888	713	2,045	.....	170	93	4,883	3,108
1861-70	39,335	6,062	18,661	9,447	1,185	1,046	38,096	8,615
1871-80	31,500	4,603	24,845	24,202	1,978	2,236	50,557	10,348
1881-90	90,462	5,689	50,629	67,045	4,668	5,211	104,369	48,328
1891-00	54,533	2,312	37,980	69,932	4,742	3,673	54,012	19,588
1901-08	62,449	1,998	47,733	48,380	5,794	3,141	26,508	11,856
1911-20	34,840	.....	38,255	16,590	9,750	.....	15,405	.....
1921-25	22,155	.....	23,615	10,415	6,835	.....	6,380	.....

* The figures for the period 1851-1908 are taken from the *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, Tab. 96. The remainder are taken from the *Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige*, in which a somewhat different classification is followed, as shown in the table. But it should be observed that the group "Public and Professional Service" has been altogether omitted.

** *Inhyes- och backstugehjon*—a special class of agricultural labor. A more detailed definition is given in chap. v, p. 97.

† Transient unskilled laborers, both male and female.

simple classification is complicated by certain inadequacies of the Swedish emigration statistics, especially prior to 1903.² Nevertheless, the available figures suffice to give a certain basis for classification (see Table 3).

Earliest and numerically the most important is the agrarian emigration.³ This division comprises the greater part of emigration, but its strength, relative to that of other types, declines constantly during the entire period, except for the eighties.⁴

² During this time (before 1903) distinctions were made between about ten occupational groups, some of which were imperfectly delimited. Still more disturbing is the fact that the continuity was sometimes interrupted, e.g., from 1891 on, when the status of the group "Agriculture" was impaired by deducting from it the classes *hemmasöner* and *hemmadöttrar* [grown sons and daughters living at home] and transferring them to the group "Unclassified Workers." A closer investigation leads one to suspect that other changes have been made in the grouping without notice being given. (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 58.)

³ This includes the groups "Agriculture," "Inhyser och backstugehjon," "Tjänstehjon" (at least the greater percentage), and a large share of the group "Unclassified Workers." It is difficult to determine how many of the group "Other Occupations" should be included here, but the percentage is probably by no means insignificant.

⁴ Cf. Table 5. For a determination of the magnitude of agrarian emigration it is, unfortunately, impossible to compare emigration from rural and urban districts, as Swedish industry is to an unusually great extent localized in the rural districts, and the figures consequently represent a combination of both agrarian and industrial emigration. Groups of factories are localized wherever natural resources, such as water-power, charcoal, ore, and timber, are available. For purposes of comparison, however, the emigration from the rural and urban districts is presented in the following table:

EMIGRATION FROM RURAL AND URBAN DISTRICTS, 1851-1920

YEAR	RURAL DISTRICTS	URBAN DISTRICTS
1851-60.....	15,184	1,711
1861-70.....	103,720	18,727
1871-80.....	121,122	29,147
1881-90.....	304,232	72,169
1891-00.....	186,810	59,962
1901-10.....	197,130	160,540
1911-20.....	79,505	38,870

(*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. V, Table 6, and *Statistisk Årsbok*)

The excess of the rural districts in emigration is even more marked than the dominance of agriculture in the general population.

Although not so great as the agrarian, industrial emigration exhibits a relative gain as emigration proceeds. Table 4 shows, if not the absolute strength, at least the relative development of agrarian and industrial emigration.

TABLE 4
RELATION BETWEEN AGRARIAN AND INDUSTRIAL EMIGRATION FROM
SWEDEN, 1851-1920

YEAR	AGRARIAN EMIGRATION*	INDUSTRIAL EMIGRATION**	RATIO
1851-60	11,484	2,308	5.0 : 1
1861-70	83,543	20,892	4.0 : 1
1871-80	86,660	29,059	3.0 : 1
1881-90	200,520	60,608	3.3 : 1
1891-00	110,955	46,395	2.4 : 1
1901-10	90,955	56,688	1.6 : 1
1911-20	10,099†	10,308††	1.0 : 1

* Agricultural Pursuits, "Inhyeses- och backstugehjon," "Tjänstehjon."

** Commerce, Industry, and Mining.

† Agricultural Pursuits, Domestic Labor (*Statistisk Årsbok*).

†† Industry and Trade, Commerce and Transportation, Public and Professional Service.

Despite the defects in Table 5, arising from uncertainties as to the occupation of some groups, which have led to the total omission of some minor groups, it is nevertheless justifiable to assume that the table gives an approximately correct idea of the *relative* shift in the composition of the emigrant body.

The third type of emigration to be treated in the following is the professional. Compared with the other types, it has but little numerical strength. For the period 1911-1920 the emigration from this group amounted to 3,535 persons, and for 1921-1925 to 2,205 persons. Its importance lies in the quality of its members and in the fact that their motives for emigration often differ fundamentally from those of the other types.

These three movements, arising from a varied background, include persons whose outlook on life, experience,

and education are very different. Because of the diversity, such generalizations as would apply to all these movements are so few and broad that they could be considered as scarcely more than truisms.

TABLE 5
HECTARES * OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1750-1920 **

YEAR	HECTARES	YEAR	HECTARES
1750	600,000	1870	2,831,000
1800	850,000	1880	3,097,000
1820	1,100,000	1890	3,306,000
1840	1,650,000	1900	3,558,000
1850	2,025,000	1910	3,691,000
1860	2,500,000	1920	3,870,000

* 1 hectare = 2.47 acres.

** *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 91. The older figures are of course uncertain, representing under- rather than over-estimation, but they are of great value as approximations.

The various types of emigration are contemporaneous, but their relative importance changes with the passage of time. Under these circumstances it is a difficult task to determine the chronology of the different phases of emigration, as the question is one of three types rather than three periods in the history of the movement. Nevertheless, it is not wholly misleading to speak of three periods, if due consideration is taken of the approximate nature of their fixation. The first period would include the principally agrarian emigration between 1860 and 1890. The next period would include the industrial emigration from 1890 to the present time;⁵ this approximately coincides in time with the professional emigration, which began somewhat later, not beginning in earnest until the new century and accelerating considerably after the World War.⁶ In accordance with the chronological importance of the different movements, the agrarian movement is the first to be treated.

⁵ Cf. chap. xi.

⁶ Cf. chap. xii.

The background of the agrarian emigration.—The nineteenth century was one of great paradoxes. It is often supposed that poverty and overcrowding prompted westward migration. This may or may not have been the case, but a peculiar circumstance is that when complaints over the poverty of Sweden were the loudest, statistics show an unparalleled economic advance, both relative and absolute.

Although the general quantitative expansion of agriculture is a well-known phenomenon, its significance and extent have hardly been given proper attention. Table 5 shows the increase in cultivated land in Sweden subsequent to 1750, during which period the cultivated area increased more than six times. Between 1750 and 1800 the increase in cultivated land was only a quarter of a million hectares. During the next fifty years the increase amounted to over a million hectares, and during the ensuing half-century a million and a half hectares. Between 1890 and 1920 the increase was 564,000 hectares, nearly as much as the total area in 1750.

This purely quantitative expansion was accompanied by an increase, not only in absolute productivity on account of the greater area under cultivation, but also in relative productivity per unit of area. For example, considering the cultivation of grain, the area planted with grain increased from 591,000 hectares to 1,700,000 hectares between 1801-1810 and 1901-1910. During the same time the harvest increased from 7,032,000 to 24,703,000 decitons; i.e., the area increased about 2.9 times and the harvest 3.5 times.⁷ Similar increases took place in most of the other branches of agriculture.⁸

⁷ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., pp. 89, 93.

⁸ The cultivation of potatoes has undergone an exceptionally great expansion. Between 1801-1810 and 1901-1910 the cultivated area increased from 7,800 to 153,000 hectares, or about 19.6 times, while the harvest increased from 777,000 to 15,279,000 decitons, or about 19.8 times. At the same time the number of head of cattle, horses, etc., increased considerably. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. XIII, p. 46.

TABLE 6

ANNUAL YIELD IN KILOGRAMS OF CERTAIN PRODUCTS PER CAPITA OF
TOTAL POPULATION *

	1801-20	1841-60	1881-90	1891-00	1901-10
Wheat	7	15	21	25	30
Rye	86	116	113	118	116
Barley	87	83	73	64	60
Oats	51	78	205	218	204
Mixed crops	28	33	30	37	45
Legumes	13	22	16	13	10
Total	272	347	458	475	465

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. XIII, p. 34.

Table 6 shows that large increases also took place in the yields of other grains and agricultural products per capita of total population. Despite the marked growth of the non-agricultural population the production per capita is on the increase. Whereas the harvest per capita was 272 kg. in 1801-1820, in 1890-1900 it had increased to 475 kg., after which it decreased somewhat. In spite of this nearly two-fold increase in per capita production, Sweden began to import grain during this time. Nothing could more clearly illustrate the rise in the general standard of living of the total, as well as of the agricultural, population. Table 7 gives the consumption of bread grains, especially wheat; this increased rapidly during the entire period in question. From a consumption of 87 kg. per capita in 1801-1820 it

TABLE 7

ANNUAL PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF BREAD GRAINS IN KILOGRAMS
(Seed Grain Excluded)

YEAR	RYE AND WHEAT	WHEAT
1801-20	87	7
1821-40	99	10
1861-80	138	20
1891-00	176	51
1901-10	184	66

had increased to 184 kg. in 1901-1910, or more than two times.

The figures given cover only part of the entire field, but might easily be given in full.⁹ In any case they suffice to show that agriculture advanced during the nineteenth century, permitting a far higher standard of living at the close of the century than at the beginning of emigration. This leads one to suspect that the standard of living in itself can hardly be held accountable for emigration. This suspicion is confirmed upon considering the relation between wages and emigration from different parts of Sweden. Since the greater part of emigration proceeded from the lower classes, the wages paid in agriculture should give a relatively good indication of the economic standard of the emigrant.

According to Table 8, there is no direct relation between the level of wages and the volume of emigration from different districts. Those with high as well as those with low wages exhibit both high and low emigration.¹⁰

⁹ The development between 1805 and 1840 is shown, although imperfectly, by the following computation of the economic status of the rural population:

HOUSEHOLDS POSSESSING	PER CENT OF HOUSEHOLDS	
	1805	1840
More than enough to live on.....	2.96	9.35
Just enough	25.74	62.74
Less than enough.....	54.81	22.28
No means of support, except charity.....	16.49	5.63

(*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 132)

¹⁰ This situation coincides with that of Europe in general. No direct relation exists between wage levels in the several countries and the volume of emigration to America. While some countries with unfavorable economic conditions, such as Ireland and Italy, show high emigration, others of similar economic status, such as certain Eastern and Southern European states, show low emigration. On the other hand, countries with a high standard of living, such as Sweden and England, show high emigration, while France, also ranking comparatively high, is primarily an immigration, and not an emigration, country. The economic differences, i.e., differences in wage level, between different countries taken alone, are not sufficient reason for emigration.

TABLE 8

RELATION BETWEEN WAGES IN AGRICULTURE AND TOTAL MIGRATION
FROM THE RURAL DISTRICTS *

LÄN [DISTRICT]**	TOTAL ANNUAL MIGRATION PER THOUSAND, 1891-1900†	USUAL WAGES IN CROWNS FOR MAN-SERVANTS, BOARD EX- CLUDED, 1896††
Districts with High Wages and High Migration		
Västernorrlands	200	-7.44
Värmlands	200	-10.33
Blekinge	190	-12.92
Kristianstads	186	-8.58
Älvsborgs	184	-11.06
Districts with High Wages and Low Migration		
Norrbottns	275	+5.79
Jämtlands	230	-4.61
Kopparbergs	207	-2.85
Gävleborgs	204	-1.05
Malmöhus	200	-2.93
Districts with Low Wages and High Migration		
Örebro	181	-9.56
Jönköpings	180	-8.62
Hallands	175	-10.19
Västmanlands	175	-8.21
Kronobergs	168	-11.53
Skaraborgs	165	-12.87
Kalmar	156	-13.28
Upsala	140	-9.99
Östergötlands	155	-9.07
Districts with Low Wages and Low Migration		
Stockholms	175	+0.77
Gottlands	175	-3.42
Västerbottens	160	-2.29
Göteborg och Bohus.....	175	-5.17
Södermanlands	140	-6.54
SWEDEN: total average.....	182	-7.32

* The above table includes all the *län* of Sweden. The average for the whole country is a total average. The difference between the figures quoted by Whipple in his *Vital Statistics* and the above figures for emigration is explained by the fact that he gives the figures for the total emigration from Sweden to other countries, while the present figures refer to the migration from the rural districts only, both to other countries and to the cities in Sweden.

** Sweden is divided into 24 *län* or administrative districts and also into 25 *landskap* or historical divisions. A number of these two types of divisions have the same boundaries. The English reader should be reminded that *län* is both the singular and plural form. For a concise explanation of Swedish geographical and political terms, see Lundborg and Linders, *Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation* (Upsala, 1926).

† Including external and internal migrations.

†† *Sveriges officiella statistik*, "Hushållningsällskapens berättelser."

It would be fruitless to dwell further upon the economic standards existing at a given moment and from them seek to derive the explanation of emigration. The very fact that emigration takes place during a period of previously unparalleled advancement in the economic field should arouse suspicion. Emigration must be considered as part of the great dynamic changes marking the past century; therefore; in order to understand it, we must consider the changes in economic conditions together with the customs and views of the people, rather than dwell upon the economic situation alone at any given moment. Obviously, if consideration is given only to the momentary economic situation within one class or between different classes, the entire movement will appear haphazard and confused.

A barometer of the dynamic changes is offered by demographic conditions—the growth of population, changes in the birth rate, death rate, and marriage rate. This is the foundation of emigration, as the human material comprising it is supplied through this mechanism. Taken together, these circumstances make it desirable to advance this study by a survey of demographic conditions.

Demographic development in the Swedish rural districts.—This investigation, it must be recalled, is limited here chiefly to the rural population. In Swedish population statistics for earlier times, the rural and urban districts are grouped together, as conditions in city and country were then essentially the same, and city-dwellers comprised only a minor part of the total population. Consequently no great error is introduced through ignoring this procedure.

Examination of Table 9 will show that the birth rate for Sweden is on the whole lower than that for the rest of Northwestern Europe. The rate relative to that of Europe decreases from 83 in 1801-1820 to 74 in 1891-1900, while that of Northwestern Europe decreases from 90 to 88 during the same interval. A decided drop occurs in the 1880's,

TABLE 9

BIRTH RATE IN SWEDEN AND NORTHWESTERN EUROPE, IF THAT OF EUROPE IS TAKEN AS 100 *

	1801-20	1821-40	1841-60	1861-80	1881-90	1891-00
Sweden	83	84	84	80	76	74
Northwestern Europe	90	93	91	92	89	88

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 87.

with the introduction and increasing practice of birth control. This initiates the rapid decrease in the Swedish nativity, which eventually rendered the Swedish birth rate the lowest in Europe, a record long held by France. But this decrease occurred subsequent to the advent of emigration as an important factor in social life, and thus has nothing to do with the origin of the movement. Except that the absolute level of the birth rate is lower than in the rest of Northwestern Europe, the general trend is much the same.

The development of the death rate is, however, more illuminating, since in Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries it deviates considerably from the general course of development, as shown in Table 10. Prior to the 1820's the death rate of Sweden appears to have been on a level with that of Northwestern Europe, but after 1820 it begins to sink relatively more rapidly than in the other countries.

TABLE 10

DEATH RATE IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, IF THAT OF EUROPE IS TAKEN AS 100 *

	1801-20	1821-40	1841-60	1861-80	1881-90	1891-00
Sweden	84	76	69	65	61	63
Norway	72	64	57	59	62	63
Great Britain and Ireland .....	....	....	....	74	70	71
Germany .....	....	90	86	91	91	86
Italy .....	....	....	....	103	99	93
Northwestern Europe	85	85	83	84	83	80

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 87.

Whereas in Northwestern Europe the death rate relative to that of Europe as a whole fell from 85 to 80 between 1801-1820 and 1891-1900, in Sweden it fell from 84 to 63 during the same time. This circumstance is of such importance that it seems justifiable to illustrate this development with the actual figures.

TABLE 11

DEATH RATE PER 1,000 OF POPULATION IN THE SWEDISH RURAL DISTRICTS, 1751-1920 *

YEAR	DEATH RATE	YEAR	DEATH RATE
1751-60	27.24	1841-50	19.69
1761-70	27.57	1851-60	20.57
1771-80	28.87	1861-70	19.33
1781-90	27.92	1871-80	17.32
1791-00	25.35	1881-90	16.36
1801-10	28.23	1891-00	16.11
1811-20	25.79	1901-10	14.89
1821-30	22.41	1911-20	14.61
1831-40	21.62		

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 55, and *Statistisk Årsbok*. The figures previous to 1820 include both city and country.

It follows from Table 11 that during the 1820's the death rate in Sweden started on its downward course from the high level prevailing throughout Europe after the Napoleonic Wars. Sweden is distinguished from other nations of Western civilization by the unusually early and rapid sinking of its death rate; during the nineteenth century the death rate shows a general tendency to decrease all over the world. The intensity and extent of this decrease in mortality mark Sweden as a field suitable for the study of the forces causing and accompanying this development.

The immediate result of the lower death rate was a large *excess of births over deaths*. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this excess was less in Sweden than in Europe or Northwestern Europe. For Northwestern Europe

the excess of births over deaths, relative to that in Europe as a whole, was 117, while for Sweden it was only 80. But between 1841 and 1860 the excess of births over deaths in Sweden reached a level considerably higher than that of Northwestern Europe, a fact due entirely to the marked decrease in the death rate, as the birth rate decreased concurrently. Not until the nineties did the decrease in the birth rate overtake the decrease in death rate. Sweden once more showed a smaller excess of births over deaths than Europe. Thus the beginning of emigration occurred at a time when the decrease in death rate so far exceeded the decrease in birth rate that the excess of births in Sweden was surpassed in relative strength only by the other Scandinavian countries.

For a proper understanding of emigration it is therefore necessary to survey the causes of the decrease and local distribution of the death rate, and the resulting excess of births over deaths in its relation to emigration from different parts of Sweden.

Relation between emigration and demographic development.—In a study of the background of emigration, consideration must be taken not only of international but also of internal migrations; otherwise the picture is distorted, since only a part of the actual movement is included. The external and internal migrations vary in strength; consequently the external migration is not an accurate index of the internal.

Table 12 shows the *län* having the highest and lowest emigration. A certain parallelism may be observed between developments in the emigration and non-emigration districts and the situation in Sweden and Northwestern Europe. The natural growth of population is greater in the emigration districts than in the non-emigration districts. This was true even before any emigration had taken place. Even as early as 1751-1760 the excess of births over deaths

TABLE 12

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES, PER 1,000 OF POPULATION, AND RATES OF NATURAL INCREASE IN CERTAIN OF THE RURAL DISTRICTS OF SWEDEN *

	1751-60	1801-10	1821-30	1841-50†	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-00
	Districts with High Emigration**							
Birth rate	36.18	30.50	35.93	33.48	31.81	29.20	26.46	25.27
Death rate	25.66	27.41	22.36	19.84	18.67	15.69	14.98	15.26
Excess of births over deaths.....	10.52	3.09	13.57	13.64	13.14	13.51	11.48	10.01
	Districts with Low Emigration††							
Birth rate	34.01	29.10	31.23	27.89	29.34	29.20	27.66	26.34
Death rate	25.79	27.44	23.93	21.35	20.66	18.87	17.18	16.32
Excess of births over deaths.....	8.22	1.66	7.30	6.54	8.68	10.33	10.48	10.02
	SWEDEN							
Birth rate	35.67	30.86	34.63	31.10	31.20	30.21	28.61	27.16
Death rate	27.24	28.23	23.63	20.59	19.33	17.32	16.36	16.11
Excess of births over deaths.....	8.43	2.63	11.00	10.51	11.87	12.89	12.29	11.05

* The material from which this table was compiled will be found in the *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. V.

** This includes the six districts from which the greatest total migration has taken place: Kalmar, Kronobergs, Jönköpings, Värmlands, Älvsborgs, and Skaraborgs *län*. For the period 1851-1900 the greatest migration was from Kalmar *län*, with an average of 10.82 per 1,000; the lowest from Skaraborgs *län*, with an average of 9.75 per 1,000.

† The figures up to and including 1841-1850 include both the rural and urban districts.

†† The districts with low emigration are Stockholms, Västmanlands, Kopparbergs, Södermanlands, Gotlands, and Upsala *län*. The lowest migration for the period 1851-1900 was from Stockholms *län*, with an average of 0.43 per 1,000, the highest from Upsala *län*, with an average of 5.30 per 1,000. The mean for Sweden is 7.03 per 1,000.

in the emigration districts was 10.52 per thousand annually, while the others showed only 8.22 and Sweden as a whole 8.43 per thousand. By 1841-1860 this difference was even greater, the respective figures then being 13.64, 6.54, and 10.51 per thousand; viz., the excess of births over deaths in the emigration districts was approximately twice as great as in the non-emigration districts. This difference decreased little by little as emigration proceeded; by 1891-1900 the excess was almost exactly the same for both types of district. The cause of this may be ignored for the present. It is important merely to notice that prior to and during the first period of emigration, the population increase in the emigration districts was considerably greater than in the districts more or less unaffected by emigration.

This fact in itself is not surprising. The problem is to find the cause of these differences, as it is rather strange to find such great dissimilarities within a nation so homogeneous as Sweden. Superficially a large excess of births over deaths is due to a large difference between the birth rate and death rate. Thus a high excess may result from a high birth rate or a low death rate, or a combination of the two, as is the case here, for a high birth rate and a low death rate prevail in the emigration districts. In 1751-1760 the birth rate was 36.18 per thousand in the emigration districts and 34.01 per thousand in the non-emigration districts, while the respective death rates were 25.66 and 25.79 per thousand. In 1841-1850 the difference was quite pronounced; the respective birth rates being 33.48 and 27.89 per thousand, and the death rates 19.84 and 21.35 per thousand. As emigration progresses these differences disappear, resulting in greater uniformity, but even as late as 1891-1900 the death rate was somewhat lower in the emigration districts. For a better understanding of these differences it is desirable to discuss, though briefly, the conditions essential to population growth.

Conditions for growth of population.—For limited periods the conservation of life is effected through improvement of hygienic conditions, control of epidemic diseases, better medical care, vaccination, sanitation, etc. These factors have been of great significance for the improvement of general health and the consequent decrease in the death rate. The control of smallpox through vaccination was especially important for Sweden, as frequent epidemics of this disease had heavily decimated the population.¹¹

Another important circumstance has been the increasing control of infant mortality.¹² On the other hand, the factors determining the number of births are the marriage rate, fecundity, etc. But neither these factors nor mortality are independent functions. Familiarity with proper hygienic measures, for example, is not in itself sufficient to explain the *differences* in mortality in various parts of Sweden. There is no reason to suppose that the people are more enlightened in the relatively remote districts (e.g., of Småland) where mortality is low, than in localities centered around Stockholm. Knowledge of hygienic measures is of little avail unless accompanied by ability to apply it, as well as interest in the advantages to be derived therefrom. The degree to which it can be applied is largely an economic question.¹³

¹¹ Epidemics occurred more or less regularly in early times. In 1779 smallpox caused the death of about fifteen thousand persons, or almost 7.5 per thousand of total population. Besides smallpox, other epidemics occurred sporadically; e.g., the famous cholera epidemic of 1834, which claimed 13,000 victims. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., pp. 78, 82, 174.

¹² The number of deaths per thousand living births during the first year of life was 204.6 in 1751-1760, 198.7 in 1801-1810, 167.3 in 1821-1830, 153.2 in 1841-1850, and 101.6 in 1891-1900. These figures show that infant mortality decreased by more than half during a period of 100 years. (*Statistisk Årsbok*.)

¹³ The question of race has purposely been omitted. There is nothing to show that these differences in mortality have a racial basis; were this the case there would be no accounting for the rapid alteration in the demographic type of whole groups, and the assimilation in demographic

Poverty is almost inevitably accompanied by poor sanitary conditions, which are reflected in the figures for mortality, especially infant mortality. Consequently it may be assumed that in Sweden, conditions being as uniform as they actually are, the death rate, and for earlier times the birth rate, are dependent upon the economic situation. If it is good, the death rate decreases, and vice versa. The same conclusion is reached in the Emigration Report, after an extensive study of the demographic conditions.¹⁴

A low death rate may therefore be considered an indication of a relatively high economic standard; i.e., if two districts display great similarity in economic life, population, culture, and social conditions, and the death rate is high in one district and low in the other, it is rather safe to conclude that the district with the lower death rate is also economically the better situated.

For the birth rate the above conditions are reversed, with certain important reservations. A high birth rate does not necessarily signify a good economic situation; in recent

respects of individuals moving to a district where another demographic type prevails. Examples of the alteration of whole groups may be found in the table on p. 78, while the assimilation of individuals is illustrated by the changes occurring after emigration to the cities and to America.

¹⁴ "It is not surprising that the new and more vigorous economic life of the Mälar provinces [those situated around Lake Mälaren] is reflected in the population statistics, above all through a decrease in the abnormally high death rate and an increase in the excess of births over deaths, for this change found similar expression in Stockholm itself. Mention has already been made of the fact that when the agriculture of Skåne [Scania] was reformed through the reparceling of farmlands [*enskiftet*] it attained economic prosperity sooner than did the central part of Sweden, where this reform likewise expressed itself in an improvement in the death rate relative to that of the rest of Sweden at that time. It is evident that economic stagnation, lack of social responsibility, and lax management are always accompanied by high mortality. Newly awakened activity, greater civic solidarity, and vigilant and energetic management on the part of the state as well as the community, inevitably lead to an improvement in the general health. Where no special obstacles arise, this also brings about an increase in the frequency of marriages and births, as clearly evidenced in [various examples are cited here]. . . ." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 526.)

times increased prosperity often has resulted in a decrease rather than an increase in the birth rate. The increase follows only under certain conditions. Given a population in which, because of traditional reasons, the standard of living is relatively unchanging, and in which the tendency to elevate the standard is accordingly weak, any increase in income, or the development of brighter economic prospects, results in frequent and early marriage and increased nativity, except when measures are taken to limit the size of the family, as during the later phase of emigration. Owing to these qualifications, the birth rate is a clumsy and rather unreliable instrument for measuring economic progress in any given district. It therefore appears most suitable to use the death rate, complemented by the excess of births over deaths, to measure economic progress. In the beginning of emigration a low death rate was usually accompanied by a high excess of births over deaths, partly as the result of the relatively high birth rate.¹⁵ It is therefore, in this case, justifiable to assume that economic conditions underlie demographic conditions.

The agrarian situation and emigration.—Two great factors influence the development of Swedish agriculture. One is the cultivation of new land—exceptionally heavy for European conditions.¹⁶ The other is the effect brought about

¹⁵ Certain less important exceptions from this tendency may be noted, e.g., Gottlands län.

¹⁶ It is difficult to gain a correct conception of this expansion in Europe in general. However, the following table will give some idea of this:

PER CENT INCREASE (OR DECREASE) OF CULTIVATED AREA IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES

	Sweden	Germany	France	Denmark	Holland	Belgium	England
1875-1895	+1.05	—0.02	—0.05	+0.61	+0.19	—0.56	—0.64
1895-1915	+0.35	—0.05	—0.05	0.00	+0.11	—0.65	—0.54

(*Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, Del. I, p. 129, Stockholm, 1924)

Even as late as 1875 the cultivated area of Sweden shows a strong expansion relative to that of the rest of Europe. The fact that Sweden exhibits a strong relative increase while the other countries show an

by the industrial revolution in its relation to agriculture, improved methods, the introduction of machines, the development of transportation, and the growth of new markets. The influence of the industrial revolution was felt over the whole of Europe, even if at different times and with varying intensity. It was a slowly maturing process, and its influence was not felt in like degree in the emigration and non-emigration districts. Expansion of area began earlier and must be considered peculiar to the background of Swedish emigration; certainly its strength in Sweden was exceptionally great.¹⁷

Although extending over the greater part of Sweden, this expansion varies in intensity. Table 13 illustrates the relation between emigration and the extent of cultivation of new land in different *län*.

It appears that, on the whole, marked expansion in cultivated areas in any given district of Sweden is accompanied by heavy emigration. The largest group of *län* is that in which both expansion and emigration are above the average of the nation. Whereas the cultivated area for the entire country increases 4.42 times between 1805 and 1907, and the average emigration is 7.03 per 1,000, the corresponding figures for this group of *län* are 4.90 times and 9.46 per 1,000. Certain exceptions to the general rule occur. The important group that includes especially the *län* of Norrland shows high expansion and low emigration. The group including the single *län* of Värmland has high emigration and relatively little expansion.

Accordingly, though a relation seems to exist between cultivation of new land and emigration, obviously it is not

absolute decrease suggests that in these countries the maximum was reached decidedly earlier, and accordingly the cultivated area has been stationary or even retrogressive during the greater part of the period of emigration.

¹⁷ The significance of the industrial revolution for agriculture is discussed in chap. vii.

TABLE 13
EXPANSION OF AREA IN RELATION TO EMIGRATION *

LÄN	EXPANSION OF AREA 1805-1907	TOTAL MIGRATION PER 1,000, 1851-1900
<i>Län with Expansion and Emigration over the Average of Sweden as a Whole</i>		
Hallands	583	8.02
Älvsborgs	554	9.90
Blekinge	536	8.60
Kristianstads	497	8.36
Östergötlands	449	9.41
Jönköpings	465	10.55
Kalmar	456	10.82
Kronobergs	452	10.50
Skaraborgs	442	9.75
Örebro	469	8.68
Average	490	9.46
<i>Län with Expansion over and Emigration under the Average</i>		
Västerbottens	1,334	3.11
Norrbottens	950	1.72
Jämtlands	780	0.87
Gävleborgs	574	0.25
Västernorrlands	526	0.35
Västmanlands	514	3.89
Södermanlands	510	5.02
Average	741	2.17
<i>Län with Expansion under and Emigration over the Average</i>		
Värmlands	412	10.44
<i>Län with Expansion and Emigration under the Average</i>		
Malmöhus	308	6.83
Kopparbergs	372	4.84
Upsala	347	5.30
Stockholms	419	0.43
Göteborg och Bohus.....	435	5.34
Gottlands	433	5.03
Average	386	4.63
SWEDEN	442	7.03

* The material from which this table was compiled will be found in the *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. V.

direct. An explanation of the character of this relation is essential. At first glance it seems paradoxical that expansion, which facilitates the absorption of a growing population through opening new areas for cultivation and thus encouraging the founding of families and establishment of new farms, should cause emigration. A case in point is Norrland, where, during the greater part of the period of emigration, expansion has been sufficiently great to absorb a large natural increase in population, and consequently emigration is low and even immigration occurs. Agrarian development in Norrland took place, however, so much later than in the rest of Sweden that it would only unnecessarily complicate matters to treat it in detail.

Consequently it is evident that expansion in itself does not bring about emigration. As already seen, a relation exists between population growth, especially when resulting from a decreased death rate, and emigration. Thus it is appropriate to compare the excess of births over deaths

TABLE 14

EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS PER 1,000 OF POPULATION, IN CERTAIN LÄN *

1751- 1760	1801- 1810	1821- 1830	1841- 1850**	1851- 1860	1861- 1870	1871- 1880	1881- 1890	1891- 1900†
<i>Län with Expansion and Emigration over the Average</i> ††								
9.29	3.79	12.12	11.30	12.75	12.76	13.28	11.81	9.83
<i>Län with Expansion over and Emigration under the Average</i>								
7.83	4.73	13.15	12.55	13.27	11.54	15.11	15.72	14.92
<i>Län with Expansion under and Emigration over the Average</i>								
.....	1.11	15.39	13.55	14.01	12.90	13.02	11.13	8.82
<i>Län with Expansion and Emigration under the Average</i>								
8.41	2.13	9.06	8.17	9.58	9.60	9.81	10.15	8.53
SWEDEN								
8.43	2.63	11.00	10.51	12.25	11.87	12.89	12.29	11.05

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. V.

** The figures prior to 1850 include both rural and urban districts.

† Birth and death rates are calculated on the mid-period; e.g., January 1, 1826, not 1821, in the period 1821-30.

†† Same *län* as in Table 13.

with expansion of area and emigration. This is done in Table 14.

In the districts where the greatest expansion of area has taken place—presumably through improvements in economic conditions—the increase in population has as a rule been singularly marked; the cultivation of new land is usually followed by heavy population growth. It is this increase in the surplus population that later gives rise to emigration. Where expansion is great, but is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the excess of births over deaths, as in Södermanlands and Västmanlands *län*, little or no emigration takes place.¹⁸

In these two *län* the cultivated areas increase 5.14 and 5.10 times, respectively, the respective figures for emigration during the period 1851-1900 being 3.89 and 5.02 per 1,000. On the other hand, Värmlands *län*, which shows but little expansion, together with heavy population increase, contributes heavily to emigration. The normal order of development of emigration is, however: Expansion—Population Increase—Emigration.¹⁹

Among questions to be answered before the intricate

¹⁸ This is shown, though not very clearly, in Table 14, where these two *län* are combined with those of Norrland. The corresponding figures for these *län* alone are therefore given in the following table:

EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS PER 1,000

	1751-60	1801-10	1820-30	1840-50	1860-70	1880-90	1890-00
Västmanlands <i>län</i>	7.27	—0.42	5.13	6.77	9.57	12.07	12.14
Södermanlands <i>län</i>	8.40	4.61	9.00	7.27	10.10	11.83	11.56
Sweden	8.43	2.63	11.00	10.51	11.87	12.29	11.05

(*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. V)

¹⁹ As shown for Värmlands *län*, instead of expansion of area, another dynamic factor must be inserted, such as expansion of industry (forestry and mining), more typical of the European situation in general. In the case of Sweden, increase of population (i.e., natural increase) is an essential link in the causation of emigration. Expansion of area not followed by a corresponding increase in population does not lead to emigration, as is demonstrated by the development in Södermanlands and Västmanlands *län*.

relation between these different functions can be clearly understood are: Why did not the cultivation of new land in Sweden take place earlier, as it did in most other lands of ancient culture? What was the nature of the restrictive mechanisms that delayed this expansion, and the consequent natural increase of population? Positively stated: Through what mechanism did advance in cultivation take place, and what is the proper sequence of the factors—ownership, technique, and methods?

Until these points are elucidated the question of the origin of rural mass emigration remains open.

Summary.—As emigration is a socially determined movement, and accordingly the attitude of the group to which an individual belongs determines the probability of his emigration in a given situation, a realistic conception of emigration can be gained only through a study of the factors underlying the attitude of different groups.

It proved impracticable to consider only the economic situation existing in different regions or countries at a given time. Areas suffering from such great poverty that they might be thought veritable hotbeds of emigration were relatively unaffected, and vice versa. That poverty in itself cannot be held responsible for emigration is shown by the fact that even before emigration began, and while it was going on, the general standard of living was being improved at an unprecedented rate.

Consequently it is not enough to confine this study to static conditions; it is necessary to consider also the *dynamic* factors underlying emigration. Especially in early times, demographic conditions offer a good barometer of these dynamic changes. In a primitive population a relation exists between prosperity, death rate, and population growth, in so far as better economic conditions tend to lower the death rate and eventually increase the birth rate. It may therefore be assumed that population increase generally is

caused by an improved economic standard. Agriculture is influenced by two great dynamic factors, which presumably have the above-named effects. One of these is the extremely heavy expansion of cultivated area, the other the improvement in methods and marketing following the industrial revolution (this change is hereafter called the "agrarian revolution"). This last factor is, however, the later of the two, appearing with a certain uniformity in Sweden as well as other countries; since its importance is confined chiefly to the later stages of emigration, it may be omitted from a study of the origins of the movement.

Furthermore, a certain relation exists between cultivation of new land and increase of population. As a rule, any noticeable expansion is followed by heavy increase in population, and vice versa. Emigration occurs after a period of population growth. Thus the relation between cultivation of new land and emigration is indirect. Theoretically the sequence of these factors may be expressed as follows: Dynamic Factor—Population Increase—Migration. In the case of agrarian emigration, the dynamic factor has as a rule been expansion of the local cultivated area, but in some cases, e.g., Värmland, factors of another type occur.

CHAPTER V

AGRARIAN EXPANSION: ITS CAUSES AND MECHANISM

Dissolution of the restrictive land policy.—At first glance it seems strange that the expansion of agriculture in Sweden did not exhaust the available supply of new land at an earlier date, as in most European countries of ancient culture. In less than a hundred years, a nation with a culture rooted in antiquity, possessing an always independent peasant class, with an economic life based on agriculture, suddenly increased its cultivated area several times. This goes to show that the supply of land was but partially utilized in early times. Considering the actual development in most other countries, resulting from the tendency of the population to increase up to the limit of the means of sustenance, as Malthus pointed out, it seems peculiar that the limit of areas subject to possible cultivation had not been reached before. The persistence of this spread between available and actually cultivated land would suggest the presence of forces sufficiently strong to check an apparently natural development; if this is the case the later expansion can be explained through the breaking down of restrictive measures.

This is what actually did happen. A direct connection can be traced between the expansion of area and the breaking down of the land policy through the subversion of the ancient Teutonic ideas of society. The essential features of the old Teutonic conception dominated the domestic policy of Sweden until the middle of the eighteenth century: it was only slowly replaced by more liberal views of society, and persisted longer in some parts of the country than in others.

The old order was static to the extreme, resting on a complicated system of laws, statutes, and customs. The foundation of society was considered to be a free and independent peasantry. It was believed that if the partition and selling of land upon the division of inheritance and on other occasions was left to the discretion of the peasant class, the partition would be carried to such a degree as to cause poverty and suffering. This had to be prevented; from motives of self-preservation the State intervened in order to preserve the *status quo*, i.e., an independent landowning peasantry. The content and aim of the dominating policy prior to about 1750 is well presented in the following extract from the Emigration Report:

At that time the problem was in reality exceptionally simple: given a certain area of arable and pasture land and woodland, how many people can derive a living therefrom? If too many are allowed to settle there, the most poorly qualified immediately sink into misery, and sooner or later, especially after a succession of crop failures, even the better situated are drawn down into poverty. This spells ruin for the country; every step must be taken to prevent it.

The simplest expedient was to forbid the partition of land below certain bounds, and thus limit the number of families. Accordingly, this became the aim of the older land policy.¹

Attempt was made prior to 1750 to preserve a static condition through legislation, but the result was not entirely successful, as a certain amount of new cultivation went on regardless.² Nevertheless, the result of these measures was such that a radically different situation arose through their revocation. The previously sporadic cultivation of new land now became a mass movement.³

¹ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 665.

² This is illustrated by the increase of population in early times, which was largely dependent upon the expansion of agriculture. It is estimated that in 1600 about 950,000 persons lived within the present boundaries of Sweden, and in 1700 around 1,485,000; i.e., during the seventeenth century the population increased by over 500,000, or more than 50 per cent. It would be somewhat of an exaggeration to regard these conditions as static. (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 40.)

³ Unfortunately it is impossible to enter here into details regarding

It is interesting to observe how general opinion and subsequent legislation began to change, so that gradually the old conception was broken down and new laws and customs arose.

To this breakdown, a variety of motives contributed. At first the opposition was not colored by individualistic views, although the conclusions reached in many cases anticipated the liberal ideas made familiar by the English theorists, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century a comparatively strong opposition was evidenced towards the restrictive land policy.⁴

The sources of this opposition were various. In part it was inspired by eighteenth century ideas regarding the advantages to the State of a great population, as advocated by the Mercantilists for military and political reasons, and also by the Physiocrats, who judged the prosperity of a nation by the progress of its agriculture. The motive of reform was to benefit, not so much the individual, as the State itself, a distinct contrast to the earlier conception, which, although it took principal consideration of the State, could not separate its interests from the prosperity of the majority of its citizens.⁵ The demand for the abandonment of all restrictions did not occur, even to the boldest, before public opinion was permeated with the Liberal doctrines. In reality the subject of the dispute was how far existing legislation should be modified in order to facilitate the growth of population and agriculture.⁶

the older conception. Only its essential features have been touched upon; those interested are referred to Nils Wohlin, *Den svenska jordstyckningspolitiken* (Stockholm, 1912). This extensive work includes a detailed treatment of this important phase in the history of emigration. Cf. also *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, X, and XII, by the same author.

⁴ Cf. Wohlin, *op. cit.*, chap. iii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. i.

⁶ The abundant pamphlet literature from the middle of the eighteenth century offers many examples of the above views. For instance, it is asserted by J. Faggot, in his pamphlet *Svenska lantbrukets hinder och hjälp* (Stockholm, 1747), that "the limitation of the population to few house-

The gradual spread of these ideas resulted in modified legislation. One by one the old restrictions were lifted; only the most important steps in this development can be named here. In 1739 the restrictions relating to the number of servants allowed on a farm were modified to permit the employment of a larger number. In 1743 a more liberal *torp*⁷ policy was introduced, which facilitated the granting of new *torp*. In 1747 the limit of the division of farms was lowered. These laws are the most significant, since they mark the definite inauguration of a new policy. Later they were gradually modified, until most, or at least the most important, limitations upon agrarian expansion were abolished. The revolution in thinking and customs was not accomplished in a single generation; the old forms were too deeply rooted in social tradition and the mores. But under the influence, especially of Liberal doctrines, the final re-

holds has depopulated the land, led to the ruin of agriculture, and raised obstructions in the way of all forms of livelihood. For this reason it is high time to do away with all limitations upon [the number of] households, promote the partition of farmlands, and let them out to tenants [*torpare*] to as great an extent as is consistent with the requirements of the owners and the supply of undeveloped land [*utmark*].” In another pamphlet of this period (*Wälmenta tankar om Hemmanens klyening och Sammansläende uti stora gårdar*, Stockholm, 1747[?]) the anonymous author develops liberal ideas. Their resemblance to those later presented in England is an interesting example of the way in which the force of circumstances leads to the development of similar ideas in different environments. One can almost hear the magisterial tones of English Liberalism in the following protest against infringements upon personal liberty. I follow Wohlin’s abstract here, as in the preceding quotation: “Nothing could be less in accordance with principles of true liberty than that freeborn parents should be denied the right justly to apportion to their children an equal share of the property they have acquired through their own efforts or through inheritance; in fact, such principles conflict with the laws of God and of Nature.” The author then refutes, point by point, the arguments against increased right of partition of farmlands. “It would be a false principle to say that this would result in a shortage of soldiers and servants. The fear of poverty is ungrounded, for as soon as the land is so much divided that no more people can live thereon, the natural consequence will be that the people will seek other means of sustenance.” (Wohlin, *op. cit.*, p. 100.)

⁷ A definition of this term, as well as of other agricultural terms, is attempted later in this chapter.

strictions were removed. The last disappeared only as late as 1881.

The foregoing throws light on a question of great theoretical interest. The principal feature of the agrarian expansion is a change in mores and laws. Not until this has taken place does agricultural expansion begin in earnest, for in the same degree as the people and the State are intent on preserving the *status quo*, the possibility of quantitative development of agriculture diminishes. When this development is well under way a new situation appears. In view of the constantly increasing surplus population resulting from this development, it seems increasingly necessary to remove more and more of the limitations, in order to make room for the new lives now brought into being. From the growing masses the Liberal reformer obtains his most eloquent argument for further reform. After the avalanche has begun to roll, it is fair to assume that a mutual interdependence arises between growth of population, the change in customs, and new legislation.

To the masses that see only one side of the problem, it is evident that the growth of population is responsible for the need of further reforms, and from here it is only a short step to the conclusion that the growth of population also is the cause of the change in laws and mores. A more refined form of this reasoning is prevalent among many materialistically inclined historians, who argue that this development is the result of a "historical necessity," which mere legislation cannot hope to influence.

"From the more general point of view, the failure of the old *besuttenhet* policy⁸ in Sweden is a proof, among many others, of the impossibility of arresting an inevitable and absolutely necessary process of historical development by means of legislative measures . . . legislation of *be-*

⁸ A policy based on the principle of keeping the peasantry on an economic level adequate for their recognized status.

suttenhet could not be maintained in Sweden, since it stood in direct opposition to the irresistible forces of the period of quantitative expansion of population."⁹

On the contrary it seems obvious that it was the removal of these same legislative measures that made this "quantitative expansion" possible, since for centuries previous it had been limited by just such measures. The "inevitable and absolutely necessary process of historical development," whatever this may be, must be the result, *inter alia*, of legislation and customs. Consequently, to contrast the result of legislative measures with the "natural" or "absolutely necessary" development of which they are as much a part as man is a part of nature, seems a speculation of doubtful metaphysical value. A law is not more or less "artificial" and "unnatural" than other data with which the economist, historian, or sociologist has to deal.

Classes in Swedish agriculture.—The next step is to show the relation between the liberal land policy, the cultivation of new land, and the resulting growth of population. For this purpose it will be necessary to refer frequently to the different class formations in the agricultural population. Since many of these are unique, it is difficult to find suitable English terms and expressions. A review of the agricultural population by classes is therefore indispensable.

Of the total agricultural population, incomparably the great majority (about 96.5 per cent in 1880) belong to the *allmoge* class [peasantry].¹⁰ Because of the small represen-

⁹ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 667.

¹⁰

YEAR	PERSONS EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE AND SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS	CATEGORIES NOT BELONGING TO <i>Allmoge</i> [PEASANT] CLASS	A IN PERCENTAGE OF B
1880	2,342,994	73,232	3.1
1890	2,442,032	89,173	3.7
1900	2,378,556	91,650	3.9

(*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, p. 16)

tation and the character of the other classes, they play relatively little part in emigration.¹¹

Large scale agriculture has never become so general in Sweden that it has threatened the existence of the independent peasant class; the number of *stånd* persons [persons of rank, i.e., the gentry] is on the decrease,¹² while the number of peasants has increased considerably, thus effecting a further lowering of the relative importance of the former.

A number of subclasses are included within the actual *allmoge* class. Only the more important can be mentioned here, and still fewer can be discussed. These are the *hemmansägare* and *hemmansbrukare* classes, the *jordtorpare* class, the *backstugesittare* and *inhysesljon* classes, the *stat-torpare* and *statare* classes, the *dräng* and *pig* class, and finally the *daglönare* class. A brief description of these different types follows:

1. The backbone of the agricultural population consists of the independent farmer called *hemmansägare* or *bonde* (plural *bönder*), meaning literally farm-owners; hereafter referred to as "peasantry proper." Protected by laws and customs, this class has always enjoyed a large measure of political freedom and economic independence. The position

¹¹ Although the number of persons of rank, i.e., the gentry, has decreased, this has in a certain degree been compensated for by the appearance of a new class, socially intermediate between this old *stånd* class and the *allmoge* class, namely the so-called *patron* class [country squires]. Economically the importance of this class is about the same as that of the older *stånd* class. No great error is introduced by disregarding this class as well.

¹²

YEAR	Stånd PERSONS [GENTRY] ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE (MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES)	Hemmansägare [PEASANTRY PROPER] AND FARMERS (MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES)
1775-1800	4,640	204,278
1840-1855	5,220	209,938
1880-1900	2,976	254,309

(*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, p. 12)

of the independent Swedish peasant was never seriously threatened by feudal institutions. This class developed the unique peasant culture for which Sweden is noted.

2. The class of *drängar* [men-servants, farmhands] and *pigor* [maid-servants, domestics] is not appreciably different from corresponding classes in other countries. Especially in earlier times their status was well defined legally. The *hemmansägare* class and this servant class originally constituted the *allmoge* class [peasantry]. Later, principally during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, other class formations arose within the peasantry, assuming positions between the two groups just mentioned.

3. The most important of these new classes is the *torpare* class. Originally the meaning of *torpare* was a settler on the public domain belonging to the State or commune, his holding being called a *torp*. Especially in earlier times it was common for *torpare* to join the *hemmansägare* class, after fulfilling certain requirements. This older form of the *torp* institution still persists in Norrland, where at the time of emigration agrarian conditions had not yet reached the same stage of development as in the rest of Sweden.

Prior to 1743 only a few *torp* were situated on privately owned land, but after this time the number increased rapidly. The character of this later type of *torp*, which became the most common, is somewhat different from that of the earlier type. The *torpare* became, in fact, the tenant of a certain subdivision of a farm. He paid his rent to the landowner partly in money and partly in labor. The *torpare's* character of tenant is also shown by the fact that later it became common for him to purchase his *torp* outright.

The *torp* organization resulted in a twofold gain for the owner. First, he was enabled to profit by the increase in land values, as he retained ownership of the land. Second, he could always depend on regular and cheap labor. To the *torpare* this chance of obtaining a *torp* represented a means

to more rapid independence, with the possibility of founding a family.

4. The *backstugehjon* or *backstugesittare* [peasant of the poorest class, cotter, crofter] and *inhyeshjon* [dependent tenant] classes represent forms intermediate between the *torpare* class and the servant class.

The *backstugehjon* has no clearly defined obligation to the landowner, but otherwise his status is like that of the *torpare*, with the exception that his subdivision [*backstuga*] is smaller and consequently his economic standard is lower.

The *inhyeshjon* boards with the landowner and, although not legally recognized as a servant, helps the family in its work.

5. The *statare* class is a relatively recent one, dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The status of the *statare* also falls between those of the *torpare* and servant classes. His obligations correspond to those of the latter: in contrast to the *torpare*, his whole time is at the disposal of the landowner, but his status differs considerably as regards wages. The *statare* lives in a dwelling provided by the landowner, and is paid partly in kind (housing and food) and partly in cash. This makes it possible for him to found a family, something almost impossible for the servant to do.

The *daglönare* class [day-laborer class] is of such relatively recent origin that it can be omitted here. In the official statistics prior to 1890 it was included under the head "Stattorpare och statareklassen" (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, p. 21).¹³

Influence of division of farms and the torp policy upon expansion of area.—It must be obvious that as long as the law determined how many servants each farm could employ,

¹³ For further details concerning the division by classes and the functions of these classes see *Emigrationsutredningen*, esp. Bil. IX, also X and XI.

how far the division of existing agricultural units could be carried, how few or how many *torp* could be granted, etc., cultivation of new land on a large scale was impossible, as the requisite apparatus did not exist. But, as already seen, from the middle of the eighteenth century these restrictions were gradually lifted. Decisive for the later emigration situation were the form under which the cultivation of new land took place and the status and customs of the new classes of the population. In this respect the situation is fundamentally unlike that in the American West, where agriculture expanded under conditions of social and economic equality, largely unaffected by established institutions and customs. In Sweden it took place with an old and slowly changing organization as nucleus. Whereas, a fairly uniform class of farmers arose in the American West, in Sweden expansion led to the formation of new classes as well as to the reinforcement of those already existing. This difference is of the greatest significance for the rise of emigration.

In order to gain a conception of this development in Sweden, it is most suitable to begin by considering the growth of different classes in the country as a whole, and later enter upon a more detailed study of its particular relation to emigration.

TABLE 15

COMPOSITION OF THE MALE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF SWEDEN, 1751-1900 *

YEAR	<i>Hemmansägare</i>	<i>Torpare</i>	<i>Backstugehjon</i> AND <i>Inhyreshjon</i>	<i>Stutare</i>	<i>Hemmasöner**</i> OVER 15 YEARS, AND <i>Drängar</i>
1751-1772	188,123	31,578	24,221	.....	163,522
1775-1800	213,743	51,875	33,500	.....	220,539
1805-1835	226,021	75,930	47,233	4,618	214,147
1840-1860	221,462	94,891	85,944	17,862	323,214
1870-1900	258,727	85,530	76,664	33,110	323,849

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, p. 26.

** Sons living at home.

It follows from Table 15 that the lower classes in agriculture—*torpare*, *backstugehjon*, *inhysesjhjon*, *statare*, etc.,—increased much faster than the *hemmansägare* or *bonde* class [peasantry proper].

The growth of the agricultural population between the middle of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century had different effects on the different categories of the population. While the population as a whole increased by more than three-fourths, the category of children over fifteen years and serving-people increased nearly two times; the category of adults within the *torpare*, *backstugehjon*, and *inhysesjhjon* classes increased three to four times, but the category of adults in the *hemmansägare* class increased only by a fourth to a third.

A further characteristic of this development is that the increase in male heads of families was essentially greater in the poorer categories of the *allmoge* class than in the *bonde* class proper. Whereas the former categories were multiplied several times, the latter increased, as stated above, by only between a fourth and a third.¹⁴

It is thus evident that expansion went on in various ways, one of which was the increase in area of already existing farms, leading eventually to their division; another being the granting of new *torp* and *backstugor*.

The former type of growth coincides with the increase of the *hemmansägare* class, resulting in the expansion of an older class and not in the creation of new ones.

It should be pointed out first of all, that the division of a farm need not always lead to emigration. On the contrary, as the area under cultivation increases, it is natural that division of the land does not necessarily lower the economic standard. On the other hand, it is evident that when the growth of population is stimulated by continued division of the land (thus permitting the sons to possess the land necessary for the establishment of additional, independent families) in a few generations the unit, through continued subdivision, would become so small as to cause general poverty. But so long as the division of farms is compensated by the cultivation of new land, the size of the holdings will not

¹⁴ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, p. 37.

be reduced, and no decrease in the general standard will take place.

A study of the development in Sweden as a whole reveals that the size of the average farm has increased greatly in spite of the concomitant division. Between 1810 and 1875 the average cultivated land per farm increased from 8.0 to 17.5 *tunnland* [acres].¹⁵ Thus the cultivated land was doubled in a period of sixty years. Between 1810 and 1865 the absolute number of farms increased from 189,647 to 240,413, an increase of more than 50,000 farms, or about 25 per cent. Had the standard of living remained constant, partition could have been carried much further than actually was the case, since in reality it was more than compensated by the cultivation of new land.

Thus only in exceptional cases was partition carried so far as to cause poverty in the *bonde* class, and this is evident if we consider the relation between partition and emigration from different localities. In the Mälar *län* both partition and emigration were low.¹⁶ The Småland *län* show only a slight increase and high emigration. The Västgöta *län*, and above all Värmlands *län*, have high partition and heavy emigration. Malmöhus and Gottlands *län*, on the other hand, exhibit a strong increase in partition and relatively low emigration.¹⁷

Thus it is not easy to trace a local relation between the division of farms and emigration, but in *län* where cultivation of new land has been relatively low, and partition has been carried unusually far, as was the case especially in Värmland, and to a less extent in certain parts of Skåne, the widespread partition is generally regarded as a serious men-

¹⁵ Cf. Nils Wohlin, *op. cit.*, p. 645. The figures given apply only to the eighteen southern *län* of Sweden, thus excluding the large northern *län* of Norrland.

¹⁶ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, p. 157; Bil. XII, Tab. D.

¹⁷ Cf. division by *län* and *landskap*, p. 73 note.

ance to prosperity, the decrease of which would in some cases cause emigration.

Generally speaking, it may be concluded that the *bonde* class did not suffer by the successive division of farms. Consequently there is nothing to indicate that division plays any great part in emigration from the *bonde* class, whose participation in the movement in any case is of minor importance.¹⁸

This development is, however, an indication of the increased standards of the *bonde* class, whose demand for land has influenced the situation of other classes by making it correspondingly difficult for them to acquire land at terms within their means.¹⁹

Thus far the analysis of the cultivation of new land has been kept within the bounds of the old class division. As has already been seen, to the old and principally democratic organization there had in the course of time been added new classes not in the same degree restricted by old traditions and customs, and less stable on account of their uncertain economic standards.

As shown by Table 16, the heaviest increase in the poorer

¹⁸ For further details cf. chap. ix.

¹⁹ This impression is strengthened upon considering contemporaneous accounts of the status of the *bonde* class. As the result of good times and the greater areas under cultivation, they began to rebuild their homes and accustom themselves to certain things, which, though regarded as luxuries at the time, under modern conditions seem more like necessities, as illustrated by the following description from the 1850's:

"In Skåne (Scania) the old semitimbered buildings disappeared more and more. The dwelling houses are now almost universally constructed of brick, and in the wealthier districts they are large and handsome, resembling real manor houses. The farm buildings are often of brick or granite. Increasing luxury is also apparent in carriages, clothing, and the manner of living." (*Femårsberättelse från Malmöhus län, 1851-1855*, cited by Wohlin, *op. cit.*, p. 715.) Similar reports came from Kalmar län: "An increasingly high standard is in evidence, as reflected in better dwelling houses, often with printed wallpaper and highly-polished furniture, and in the use of manufactured clothing and other expensive materials, as well as in the consumption of sugar, coffee, punch, wine, cigars, and other luxuries." (*Femårsberättelse från Kalmar län, loc. cit.*)

TABLE 16
INCREASE OF MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES IN SPECIFIED CLASSES OF SWEDISH AGRICULTURE

	PER CENT IN- CREASE OF AGRICULTURAL POPULATION, 1751-1870*		INCREASE OF MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES <i>Torpare</i> CLASS, 1751-1870**		INCREASE OF MALE HEADS OF FAMILIES IN <i>Backstugelöjor</i> AND <i>Inhysselöjor</i> CLASSES, 1751-1870**		INCREASE OF SONS LIVING AT HOME, <i>Drängar</i> , ETC., 1751-1870**	
	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.
<i>Län</i> with expansion and emigration above the average†.....	104.8	42,535§	259.7§	47,014	408.0§	69,062	93.8§	
<i>Län</i> with expansion over and emigra- tion under the average††.....	39.4	2,689	69.9	2,749	161.5	6,682	53.6	
<i>Län</i> with expansion under and emi- gration over the average†.....	119.2	2,383§	96.0§	7,470	424.2§	8,869	60.6§	
<i>Län</i> with expansion and emigration under the average††.....	66.0	5,482	73.9	11,460	234.1	25,063	79.0	

* Wohlin, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

** *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, p. 186 ff.

† Including Hallands, Alvsborgs, Blekinge, Kristianstads, Östergötlands, Jönköpings, Kalmar, Kronobergs, Skaraborgs, and Örebro *län*.

†† Including Västmanlands and Södermanlands *län*. The *län* of Norrland are here omitted.

‡ Including Värmlands *län*.

§§ Including Malmöhus, Upsala, Stockholms, Göteborg *och* Bohus, and Gotlands *län*.

§ The figures for Örebro and Värmlands *län* are for the period 1795-1870.

classes was in the emigration districts. This is equally true of the *län* in which a large expansion of cultivated area took place simultaneously and those in which no such expansion occurred. In the *län* with high expansion and heavy emigration, the *torpare* class increased 259.7 per cent; *backstugehjon*, etc., over 408 per cent, and *drängar* and *hemmasöner* [sons living at home] over 90 per cent. In *län* with expansion and emigration below the average, the corresponding figures are 73.9 per cent, 234.1 per cent, and 79.0 per cent. Emigration is low in the *län* where strong expansion has not been accompanied by large growth of the lower classes, and high in those where the reverse conditions obtain; i.e., where the lower classes increase without a corresponding expansion of area.²⁰

Thus it may be said that growth of population was confined chiefly to the new poorer classes in agriculture, although the older *bonde* class participated to a minor extent. Consequently the principal requisite for comprehension of the relation between population increase and emigration is an understanding of this latter class, its conditions of existence, and its social and individual character.

Character of the new class formations in agriculture.—The new classes that arose in agriculture in connection with the subversion of the old restrictive laws and customs, were dependent for their origin on the cultivation of new land, and their further development rested upon continuous expansion. The opportunity of obtaining *torp* and *backstugor*

²⁰ It should be observed that the expansion of cultivated area is not dependent upon a single factor. But it is of value to notice that a certain relation exists between the degree of dissolution of the conservative land policy and the extent of emigration in different parts of the country. The Mälar provinces, with their conservative attitude, have comparatively low emigration. The same appears to be the case in the province of Dalarna (Dalecarlia), where emigration also is low. In the rest of the country, especially in Värmlands *län*, traditional family householding is gradually yielding to an individual economic outlook. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. X, p. 55.

made it possible for each and every one to win a certain degree of independence, small though it might be, and to rear a family in a sound though frugal manner. A general desire for land arose within this class. This was not strange, as land represented practically the only known means of sustenance at that time. Land had the same symbolic significance that the dollar later assumed for this class in America. This attitude is well expressed by one of the early pioneers: "They married young at that time, and wept if they did not get a piece of land on which to build a cottage. When they got the land they cleared and plowed to their heart's content, and were of the opinion that they should conquer the forest and make it arable land."²¹

Persons of this class were usually poor, possessing practically nothing but two strong hands and the robust ambition of youth. Their poverty carried implications that deserve to be mentioned here. Since they were poor, and credits were only little developed at that time, they could not afford to buy and cultivate the best land and had to be content with what they could get. This is the background of the *torp* institution, which offered a solution, although an imperfect one, of the land problem. The cultivation of land lying on the *margin*—not infrequently on the wrong side thereof—aroused uneasiness among intelligent students of the situation. "The desire to break and cultivate every kind of land," observes one author near the middle of the past century, "amounts to an obsession."²² The small units thus placed under cultivation could hardly be developed in a rational manner, owing to the ignorance of proper methods and the lack of funds for suitable implements and fertilizers. The same author continues: "They never give a serious thought to the increase in the supply of hay. Formerly they

²¹ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII, No. 2, p. 31.

²² *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII, No. 4, p. 29 (quoted from Lignell).

sowed little and fertilized well, but now the reverse is the rule. Therefore the land is meager and does not give the returns that could be expected with better fertilization."²³ As in Ireland, potatoes came to be more and more depended upon as food. Because of this simple method of cultivation and the relative poverty, the lower classes were especially dependent on the outcome of the harvest for each year. Like most poor settlers, they had no financial reserve to draw on, especially during the early years of their enterprise. In case of crop failure they suffered actual want and privation; often they were forced to give up their homes and sacrifice the results of their years of labor, because they were unable to meet their obligations.

But their hard, although essentially healthful life, together with early marriages, resulted in large families, and with the general decrease in infant mortality a greater percentage of the children reached maturity. Each successive year witnessed greater numbers of youths seeking employment. Each year brought the necessity of cultivating more land than before, in order to maintain the standard of living, and still more to allow its improvement. Without old traditions, without ever having experienced static conditions, this class continued to grow. It early became accustomed to certain ways of life, breaking new land, marrying early, and rearing large families. It is obvious, however, that the foundation of this class was built on shifting sand. Essential to its continuous growth and prosperity was access to more and more virgin land, to satiate the ever increasing horde of land-hungry settlers. Experience has shown that in a race between the supply of new land and the increase of population, the land is the first to give out. This has been demonstrated more than once since the promulgation of the

²³ A simple method of cultivation, later practiced by the Swedes in America, was *svedjebruk*, which consisted in burning wooded plots and planting the crops in the ashes.

Malthusian doctrines. Thus the lower classes that arose during the expansion of the tillable area, an expansion in which they had been largely instrumental, lived in a state of highly unstable equilibrium. Industry was yet undeveloped. No one could foresee the possibility of mass emigration as other than a fantastic project; the requisite apparatus and means for such a movement simply did not exist. Therefore the more discerning among contemporary observers expressed fear of a final catastrophe, when the supply of land no longer would be sufficient for the growing masses. In 1833 the poet-bishop Esias Tegner, author of *Fritjof's Saga*, issued the following warning as governor of his diocese of Växjö:

The land is overrun with *backstugor*, inhabited by a breed whose only wealth is their ability to work, and even if this is sufficient to keep them alive in good years, when opportunities of work are not lacking, every crop failure must inevitably bring about unemployment and misery. The gain in cultivation anticipated from this population has for the most part failed to materialize, for as a rule it is confined to the hacking up of a few small plots for potato-growing, and what improvement is effected in the land is offset by the damage done to the forests. In this way the population has grown and is growing every year, but poverty is growing in the same proportion or even far more rapidly, and the census is gradually being converted into a poor-list. The *numerical* strength of the nation is growing, but its *actual* strength, to which prosperity, or at least satisfaction, is requisite, is being undermined by the rise of a population whose entire existence is dependent on the annual outcome of the potato crop.

It is important to warn the unwary against an erroneous conclusion that might easily be drawn. It is often assumed that poverty increased in the early nineteenth century, and the increase in the poorer classes is advanced as proof of this. The increase cannot be denied, but one must be on his guard against inferring that the economic status of the poorer classes was impaired. The great increase in these classes and the general decrease in the death rate are witness to the contrary. Whether poverty is regarded as decreasing or increasing is thus dependent on the point of

view chosen. In reality, had this expansion in small holdings not occurred, many members of these classes would have been reduced to the rank of servants; if this class is regarded as an extension of the servant class, it must be admitted that this development implied an improvement, greater independence, etc. If subsequently the improvement within these classes was offset by the rearing of families that otherwise would not have been founded, the very existence of these families is an indication of a positively improved status and greater possibilities of earning a livelihood. Therefore, even if the poorer classes increased relatively more than the others, the available evidence shows that if the status of the poorer classes was not absolutely improved, in any case it was not lowered.²⁴

Insufficiency of the expansion of area.—Naturally the supply of new land varies in different parts of Sweden, according to the locality. Consequently it is impossible to say that the supply of new land was exhausted in any specific year, nor is it a question of the absolute exhaustion of the available supply. But beyond a certain limit it is impossible to expand the cultivatable area in proportion to the increase in population. Gradually the best of the new land suitable for small-scale cultivation becomes scarcer and more expensive.²⁵

In spite of these sectional differences it is nevertheless possible to distinguish the turning point in this race between land and peasantry, when the increase in population overtakes the cultivation of new land.

In the rural districts the excess of births over deaths increases until about 1890. Whereas in 1841-1850 the excess

²⁴ Cf. chap. iv, esp. note 9, p. 72.

²⁵ Capitalists and others able to reclaim land on a large scale can drain swamps, clear forests, and do other things impossible to the solitary farmer, hampered as he is by lack of capital and restriction to a special type of land that may be cultivated by single effort and at low cost. This helps to explain why cultivation of new land can go on after a relative saturation point for small-scale expansion is reached.

is 346,000, in 1871-1880 it is not less than 476,000. The addition of new land reaches its maximum between 1850 and 1860. During this decade there were reclaimed not less than 475,000 hectares, or roughly 75 per cent of the area under cultivation in the middle of the eighteenth century. After this time the expansion of cultivated area falls off rapidly, amounting to only 123,000 hectares in 1871-1880, when the population increase attains its maximum. Prior to 1860 the cultivated area increases one hectare for every

TABLE 17

POPULATION INCREASE AND EXPANSION OF CULTIVATED AREA *

YEAR	EXPANSION IN THOUSANDS OF HECTARES	EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS IN THOUSANDS
1831-1840	250	281**
1841-1850	375	346
1851-1860	475	399
1861-1870	330	425
1871-1880	123	486
1881-1890	114	476
1891-1900	74	436

* Average for period 1816-1840.

** The figures for cultivation prior to 1866 are approximately given in the Emigration Report, and should give a fairly accurate indication of the trend of development.

person added to the population, thereafter this relation decreases rapidly. During the seventies the increase in persons is about four times as great as the increase in hectares of cultivated land, and during the period 1890-1900 not quite one-fifth of a hectare is added for each new person. The limitation of cultivation of new land is reflected directly in the agricultural population and the total population, as will be seen from the table below (Table 18).

Before 1840 the agricultural population constitutes about 80 per cent of the total population, with surprisingly small variations, but after this time the percentage begins to de-

crease. In 1850 about 78 per cent of the population are still supported by agriculture, and in 1870 about 72 per cent, a decrease of 6 per cent in twenty years. Thus agriculture is able to carry an approximately constant share of the population increase, until about 1840, when the decrease begins. At first, the decline is not very great, and the absolute strength of the agricultural population continues to grow, reaching its maximum in 1880, with about three million persons. By 1900 this figure has decreased to about two and three-quarter millions.

TABLE 18

GROWTH OF THE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION OF SWEDEN *

YEAR	AGRICULTURE AND SUBSIDIARY OCCU- PATIONS	PER CENT OF TOTAL POPU- LATION
1751	1,425,000	79.80
1760	1,511,001	79.81
1790	1,716,658	79.54
1810	1,959,825	82.42
1820	2,134,954	82.60
1840	2,539,360	80.90
1850	2,714,292	77.94
1870	2,995,844	71.87
1880	3,078,274	67.42
1890	2,914,984	60.92
1900	2,756,704	53.67

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, p. 4.

In brief, it may be said that about 1860 a situation arose where the increase in the agricultural population no longer could find employment in agriculture, at least if they were to maintain the continuously rising, or even the achieved standard, which during the preceding period had come to be regarded as normal. The development of the agricultural population shows that only a part of the excess of births over deaths found employment in agriculture, and that

gradually the absolute strength of the agricultural population decreased.

The situation became critical. Seeing their traditional existence threatened, the population was seized with unrest. It cannot be denied, says Sundbärg in his review of the 1860's,

that around 1865 the rural districts of Sweden were overpopulated in comparison with the existing development of the country's resources.

When "over-population" is mentioned here, it should be borne in mind that it is from the Swedish point of view. There can be no doubt that in most European lands at this time the status of the "dependent" classes was lower than in our case; this is witnessed to by the already phenomenally low death rate for Sweden. But circumstances which in most other countries would *not* have led to emigration, nevertheless did so in our country, as the consequence of the demand for a decent standard of living, which always has been characteristic of our people, and now has gained in strength through our improved popular education.²⁶

TABLE 19

DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEATH RATE PER 1,000 IN DIFFERENT DISTRICTS

YEAR	EMIGRATION DISTRICTS*	NON-EMIGRATION DISTRICTS**	DIFFERENCE
1841-1850	20.22	21.22	1.00
1851-1860	21.50	22.27	1.77
1861-1870	19.46	20.31	0.85
1871-1880	16.95	18.77	2.82

* Groups 1 and 3 in Table 16.

** Groups 2 and 4 in Table 16.

It was inevitable that the districts with the strongest expansion of area and increase of population should be most affected by this reaction. This is shown by the development of the death rate in these districts and in the rest of Sweden.

As has already been pointed out, the emigration districts have the lowest death rate, but while in 1851-1860 the dif-

²⁶ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 155.

ference is 1.77 per 1,000, in the following decade it is only half as great. After the beginning of emigration the difference again increases, and the emigration districts resume their former lead. In 1871-1880 the difference is 2.82 per 1,000. A corresponding development occurred in the marriage rate, which for earlier times gives a fairly good indication of variations in the economic situation. During the 1850's the marriage rate for the entire country reached a level it had not attained since the 1820's, to sink during the following decades from 7.61 per 1,000 in 1851-1860 to 6.54 per 1,000 in 1861-1870. In the emigration districts the marriage rate sank from 7.49 to 6.36 per 1,000 in the same interval, a decrease of 1.13 per 1,000, while in the non-emigration districts it sank from 7.68 to 6.88 per 1,000, a decrease of 0.80 per 1,000.

Summary.—It appears that the great increase in the area of cultivated land, and subsequent growth of population, was caused principally by the subversion of the ancient Teutonic ideas and institutions of society, and the substitution of more liberal ones. These new social currents raised the status of the *bonde* class by increasing their individual prosperity rather than their numbers. At the same time, however, there arose new poorer classes, directly dependent upon expansion of area for their subsistence. These new classes lacked the traditional background of the older classes; their whole manner of living was turned towards a quantitative expansion of agriculture, upon which the large families they raised were dependent for sustenance and livelihood. Unless new outlets could be found for the surplus population, a cessation of expansion spelled disaster for these classes. About 1860 this long-feared and oft-prophe-sied situation occurred. The expansion of the cultivated area could no longer continue at the same rate as the increase of population. This was at once reflected in the death rate and in the marriage rate. The long-continued improve-

ment in the mortality rate of the emigration districts slowed down; the marriage rate decreased more rapidly than in the non-emigration districts. Although it cannot be said that these new classes as a whole lived at the minimum of existence—their status was better than that of most corresponding European classes—still a check occurred in their development. Unless new ways could be found to employ the surplus population that continued to flow from the agricultural districts, a static or even declining economic condition was certain to result. This meant that all advances in wages and the standard of living would have to be sacrificed to the numerical expansion of population. How this situation actually was solved and how new ways opened is a chapter of strange coincidences, such as a people can seldom hope to encounter in the course of its history.

CHAPTER VI

EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATIONS

Beginning of mass emigration in the 1860's.—The serious situation that resulted when growth of population overtook the expansion of agriculture was further accentuated by a series of crop failures. Following the standards employed in Swedish statistics, where an average harvest is represented by 6, and an exceptionally good one by 9, the table below shows that poor harvests occurred in 1861, 1865, 1867, and 1868.

TABLE 20
HARVESTS AND EMIGRATION DURING THE SIXTIES *

YEAR	HARVEST	EMIGRATION PER 1,000 OF POPULATION
1860	6.0	0.18
1861	4.5	0.70
1862	7.0	0.77
1863	6.0	0.94
1864	7.0	1.53
1865	5.4	1.95
1866	6.1	2.08
1867	5.2	2.67
1868	4.9	7.72
1869	7.2	11.21

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 58.

The new classes in agriculture lived on a wage that left only a narrow margin between the standard of living and the minimum of existence; they were therefore unable to prepare against unexpected adversities, and consequently suffered most from crop failures. The hardships thus inflicted tended to loosen further their connection with their

environment, already severely strained under the pressure of rapidly changing conditions. A more concrete picture of conditions in the districts where land expansion was great is given by the following rather typical description:

When emigration began, towards the close of the 1860's, life in these districts (Nordmarks and Vedbo *härad*, in Värmlands *län*), which undoubtedly were generally regarded as overpopulated, was hard and uninviting; almost the only means of subsistence being the products of the small cultivated plots. . . . It became increasingly difficult to provide for the large families, and competition became more and more keen for the few opportunities of employment that were offered.

The *torpare* and *bönder* (plural of *bonde*), unable to liquidate their tax obligations, sank deeper and deeper into debt. Every Sunday, notices of auctions of farms were read in the churches and the sheriffs were kept busy traveling about in the parishes, levying seizures and other executive measures.

So when the lean years came at the close of the sixties, a general dearth arose, and many were forced to leave home and hearth. . . . It is not surprising that want was especially great among the numerous *torpare* and *backstugesittare* [tenants of *backstugor*, cf. pp. 96-98] and it is told that the highways swarmed with begging people, who offered to work for board alone.¹

It is no wonder that emigration now rose to an unprecedented height. Whereas in 1860 it was only 0.18 per 1,000 of population, in 1864 it rose to 1.53 per 1,000, and after the crop failures of 1867 and 1868 it increased to 7.72 per 1,000 in 1868 and 11.21 per 1,000 in 1869, the latter figure being exceeded only in 1882.

In order to understand the scope of the problem that was now intensified through crop failures, it is desirable to recall the situation centering in population increase, and its possible solutions.

Rise of surplus population in agriculture after 1860.—Between 1800 and 1860 the population of Sweden increased from 2,347,303 to 3,482,541, a growth of over 1,100,000 persons. In 1800 the agricultural population comprised 79.08 per cent of the total, and in 1850, 77.94 per cent;

¹ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII, No. 3, p. 7.

viz., the percentage of the total population engaged in agriculture decreased only about 1 per cent in half a century, showing that practically a constant percentage of the population was absorbed in agriculture. Between 1850 and 1900 the total population increased from 3,482,541 to 5,136,441, a growth of 1,643,900 persons. Since, during the same period, the loss through emigration amounted to 843,281 persons, the total population increase was nearly two and a half millions; the surplus for the latter half of the century being nearly twice as great as that for the first

TABLE 21

SURPLUS POPULATION ENTERING FIELDS OTHER THAN AGRICULTURE

YEAR	POPULATION
1800-1850*	567,000
1861-1870	318,000**
1871-1880	453,000
1881-1890	730,000
1891-1900	690,000

* For this period emigration has been disregarded; hence this figure may in reality be a few tens of thousands higher.

** The increase in the agricultural population from 1861 to 1870 is assumed to be one-half of the total increase from 1851 to 1870; consequently this figure probably is somewhat too high, although this should not perceptibly influence its value for a general survey.

half. In 1850 the agrarian population was 2,714,292, and in 1900, 2,756,704, representing an increase of only about 40,000 persons—a negligible quantity in comparison with a population surplus running into millions. In 1900 the agrarian population comprised only 53 per cent of the total. In other words, the entire population increase was absorbed outside of agriculture. These figures apply only to long periods; the rapidity of population growth during the period of emigration is more clearly shown by the decennial figures, which indicate that even the absolute strength of the agrarian population decreased after 1880.² By add-

² Cf. chap. vii.

ing this decrease to the surplus agrarian population and subtracting the earlier absorption by agriculture from the excess of births over deaths, material is obtained for Table 21, which gives the number of persons, by decades, entering fields other than agriculture.

Whereas, during the first half of the eighteenth century the average absorption per decade in occupations other than agriculture amounted to about one hundred thousand persons; in the sixties this category included over three hundred thousand persons, and in the eighties more than twice this number, or over seven hundred thousand persons; more than the entire number absorbed during the first five decades of the century. With the decline of the birth rate after 1880, this category decreased relatively, but continued on a high absolute level for decades.

Thus, while the original foundation of all population growth—the land—suddenly became insufficient, the number of new mouths to be fed increased every year. The population increase, which was started by the conditions resulting from agrarian expansion, continued of its own accord after the original expansion had abated. It is plain, however, that this growth could not continue without some economic foundation.

One such foundation offered itself in the growing industry of Sweden; another, in the emigration to America.³ In or-

³ There was also a third expedient, although it is of too little practical significance to be included. If subsidiary occupations are open to the rural population, both the division of farms and the ensuing growth of population, of course, continue on the condition that the insufficient compensation from agriculture is supplemented by contributions from other sources. Practically, these other occupations are limited to forestry, mining, handicraft, fishing, and navigation, and the income derived from them is of importance only in districts where the natural population increase is relatively low, as in Bergslagen (Västmanland and south Dalarna), where the transportation of ore and charcoal offers good opportunities for income during the winter, and in Roslagen in the Stockholm Archipelago, where, in spite of excessive division of farms, the income derived from

der to understand the significance of these factors, it is necessary to consider what would have been the consequences if they had not presented themselves, and the population had been forced to depend exclusively on agriculture. The decline in the birth rate was largely independent of the economic situation; the decrease began vigorously in the 1880's, signifying that equilibrium must have been attained in some other way. In a broad sense, this could only have been accomplished through an increase in the death rate.⁴

No doubt agriculture could have supported a much larger population than it actually did. But this would have meant sacrificing at least some of the progress of the last century, and would automatically have created a situation where a higher death rate would have recurred to establish a new equilibrium between the population and the means of sustenance, even though the actual population growth was in some degree a result, as well as a cause, of the absorption of population through industry and emigration.

The growth of industry, resulting in internal migration, and the emigration to America are thus alternative expedients, facilitating the growth and absorption of an increasingly large population. The extent of emigration is therefore dependent on the relation between these two fac-

fishing, navigation, and summer resorts permits a growth of population without resulting emigration.

As an example of the insufficiency of these sources of income when population growth is heavy, *Värmlands län* may be cited, where, with the support of the extra income derived from forestry and mining, the division of farms is carried to considerable length in spite of relatively little cultivation of new land. When the limited opportunities for extra income were exhausted, emigration there became unusually heavy. If increase of population rests upon the expansion of an industry whose growth is dependent on the supply of an inelastic factor, such as a certain natural resource, a disparity soon arises between growth of population and possibilities of employment. It is during the violent change from dynamic to static economic conditions, or when such a change seems imminent, that maximum emigration most frequently occurs.

⁴ For the temporary retardation in the decline of the death rate in the emigration districts during the sixties, cf. chap. v, p. 110.

tors. The less the possibilities of industrial expansion, the greater the need of emigration, and vice versa, but in order to understand emigration, the factors decisive for the industrial expansion must be regarded as constant.⁵

As a further justification for this order of procedure it may be added that the internal migration is the older of the two phenomena; emigration began first after internal migration had been tried and, rightly or wrongly, found wanting. The explanation of this must be sought in the circumstances attending the two movements. Before emigration became a mass movement, journeying to America was far more hazardous and adventurous than, for example, moving to a nearby city. Thus, in studying external migration, it is proper to regard the expansion of industry and the resulting internal migration as one of the retarding factors, since, if this outlet had not opened, the "need" of emigration would have been correspondingly greater.

Industrial expansion.—The statement that the strength of emigration is limited by the "absorptive capacity" of industry requires some qualification. The magnitude of this absorptive capacity is not fixed once and for always—it changes with the times. Not even for a given moment, when all technical factors remain constant, can its strength be established, for it varies, *inter alia*, with the wage level. In the strictest sense it is one of the given factors in the emigration problem, and it is, of course, impracticable to enter into a concrete study of the elements upon which it rests—it would require a separate volume. The actual absorption is an expression only of what could be absorbed under certain conditions of technical knowledge, available capital, enterprise, etc. All this is too evident to merit further attention here.

But it should be noted that a study of the absorptive

⁵ Where interest centers around internal migration, emigration must be regarded as the constant factor in the problem.

capacity at any given moment is of minor importance, since the question here is a dynamic one, involving two different streams. One is the stream of surplus population flowing from agriculture; the other is comprised of the new occupations in non-agrarian industries. The nucleus of emigration lies in the relation between these two movements. During a century of development the population had accustomed itself to a standard of living that advanced, even though slowly, and thus had grown highly unwilling to accept wages that jeopardized this progress. Actually, the stream of workers that flowed into industry was disinclined to accept employment that did not offer a reasonable hope of such traditional betterment.⁶

Emigration made it possible for the workers to maintain their demands. Had not the alternative of obtaining free land in America stood open, they could not have held out; they would have been forced to accept the work offered at home or starve. The wages regarded as sufficient in 1860 were insufficient a few decades later, when emigration readily arose out of a situation that would have been considered earlier highly satisfactory. Accordingly it is not the absorptive capacity in itself that is decisive for emigration, but rather the stream of opportunities for employment above a certain wage level.

⁶ The variation between good and bad times plays a large part in heightening the demands of the workers as to wages. In good times wages rise, and the workers accustom themselves to a higher standard of living; later they are unwilling to return to their former status. In the first years of the 1870's, when times were good partly because of the upswing in the timber trade, wages rose and, apparently, general prosperity reigned. But about 1876 a setback occurred, times grew hard, and wages tended to sink. Rather than accept the lower wages, even if they were higher than before the upswing, many preferred to emigrate. Thus, emigration reached a record level in the period of the close of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties. Because the opportunity for emigration remained open, it was possible to fix the wage standard at a certain level. Emigration was an effective preventive of the decline of wages, resulting in a situation where increasingly high wages were necessary to prevent emigration. (*Emigrationsutredningen, Bet.*, pp. 164-175.)

In order to understand the situation that led to emigration it is consequently desirable to consider the factors conditioning the growth of the two streams. The growth of population prior to 1880 was limited chiefly by the rate of biological increase. The various determining factors need not be enumerated here; suffice it to say that agrarian development had initiated an unusually rapid growth of population. In the period 1850-1870 the surplus to be placed in fields other than agriculture amounted to more than 400,000 persons. In 1850 the total industrial population amounted to 318,000 persons, to which must be added 68,000 in trade and navigation.⁷ Necessary for the absorption of this surplus was a doubling of the number of industrial workers in twenty years, without depression of wages. During the eighties the surplus agricultural population amounted to more than seven hundred thousand persons; in 1880 the number of persons employed in industry was roughly eight hundred thousand, and in trade and navigation three hundred and twenty-five thousand. Consequently it was necessary that, in this single decade, industry should nearly double its number of workers without depression of wages. It was a young and undeveloped industry that suddenly had to shoulder the burden of absorbing the surplus from the agricultural group, which had suddenly begun to expel instead of absorb its own increases. The number of persons supported by agriculture was over 2,700,000 in 1850. Under these conditions normal expansion was not enough; what was required was a doubling decade after decade.⁸

⁷ This study takes no consideration of the group "Public Service, etc.," which in 1850 amounted to 381,000 and in 1900 to 351,000 persons. Owing to its stationary character and comparatively small absolute and relative importance, this group is of little significance here.

⁸ If the expansion of agriculture is regarded as normal, the advance of other occupations (chiefly industrial) upon the cessation of this expansion must be as much the greater as their total strength is less than that of agriculture.

Industrial expansion is limited by many factors besides growth of population. Profitable expansion is determined by the supply of the most scarce amongst them, even though a certain degree of substitution can be effected between different factors—machines can replace workers, land replace labor, etc.⁹

Besides the supply of different kinds of labor, industrial growth is determined by the supply of capital, natural resources, sales organization, and various other factors. The creation of what might be called an industrial organization requires time and effort. Expansion cannot take place unless all the essential factors are at hand in the proper proportions. The supply of labor in itself is no guarantee that industrial expansion will take place. If this were the case, expansion would have occurred long since in all overpopulated countries. The difficulty of expansion is especially evident where it proceeds under a rising wage standard supported, for example, by the possibility of emigration.

Therefore, it is a surprising fact that industry could undergo so rapid an expansion, and could limit emigration to such an extent as it actually did. Strictly speaking, the cause of this expansion is irrelevant here, but attention might be called to two circumstances in particular. Sweden was fortunate in possessing great, undeveloped natural resources, notably the extensive forests (approximately half of Sweden's area is wooded), as well as water power.

The early expansion of Swedish industry, approximately to 1890, was based on the development of these resources, which commanded good prices in the world markets, especially timber. Forest products comprise about half the value of Sweden's exports; already in the later years of the 1870's their value amounted to approximately 47 per cent of the

⁹ Cf. Eli F. Heckscher, "Utrikes handelns inverkan på inkomstfördelningen," *Ekonomisk Tidskrift*, Upsala, 1920; also Bertil Ohlin, *Handelns Teori* (Stockholm, 1924); and chap. ix of this work.

total value of exports. The development of these great resources required no very costly equipment nor any great degree of skilled labor. Through their development, the capital necessary for further industrial expansion was raised with relative ease. To this the import of foreign capital contributed increasingly during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

In the following table the relation between capital and labor is illustrated.¹⁰

TABLE 22

WAGES PAID IN PER CENT OF INVESTED CAPITAL, CALCULATED TO 6 PER CENT OF VALUE OF EQUIPMENT AND STOCKS IN CERTAIN INDUSTRIES *

INDUSTRIES	WAGES
Sawmills and box factories.....	350
Mines	564
Stone quarries	2,572
Smelting of iron and other metals.....	340
Woodworking factories	518
Working of iron and other metals.....	435
All Swedish industries.....	300

* *Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, Del I, p. 98, Stockholm, 1924.

The general course of development resembles that in America, where, as in Sweden, agrarian expansion was followed by a development of natural resources, which later served as a foundation for more highly developed forms of industry. The principal difference is that in the United States the break between industrial and agrarian development was not so pronounced, since industrial expansion, as compared with agrarian expansion, began relatively earlier there than in Sweden; consequently when agrarian development reached stagnation, industry was ready to absorb a larger percentage of the population.

¹⁰ Obviously the simpler forms of industry require relatively less capital than industry as a whole; this cannot but be of great importance in a situation involving a relative excess of labor and corresponding lack of capital.

The importance of the interrelation between external and internal migration is illuminated by a comparison with conditions in England during the Industrial Revolution, which made possible a great increase in the population. To begin with, new economic resources were used entirely to further numerical expansion. The result was unprecedentedly low wages and insufferable working conditions; the worker was forced to accept the wages offered or starve. He had no other recourse, since the organization for mass emigration had not yet arisen. In Sweden, however, the working class as a whole was not forced to accept wages that were less desirable than emigration, as the period of industrial expansion did not begin until after this organization had attained such strength that a practically unlimited number could profit by the great possibilities in America.¹¹

The part of the population increase not thus absorbed in industry was removed through emigration. From this point of view it is legitimate to say that industrial expansion regulates emigration, as well as the opposite, since their relation is one of mutual interdependence. But it is obvious that of the factors retarding emigration, industrial expansion is the most important. Therefore it may be said that the volume of emigration depends on the lack of coordination between population increase and the possibilities of employment, the extent of emigration being determined by the standards that in turn have arisen under its regulating influence.¹²

The relation between emigration and internal migration

¹¹ Naturally, this is one of the circumstances that contributed towards giving Swedish industry the form that it actually assumed. Owing to the relatively high wages, it was able to compete only in those branches which, on account of especially good natural or other advantages, could offer relatively high remuneration.

¹² On the other hand, it may of course be said that emigration was a regulating factor in the expansion of industry, in so far as a larger supply of cheap labor would have made other branches of industry more profitable. From the point of view of emigration, however, it is necessary to ignore this aspect of the problem.

—industrial expansion nearly always implies this, for it is usually a movement from country to city—has hitherto been treated as though the choice between these alternatives had always been a conscious one. This is, of course, a simplification of the problem, allowable as a first approximation. Since the individual's decision in emigration is largely governed by the attitude of his social group, it is necessary to consider how this intricate balance actually is effected. Naturally it is not true that each individual arrives at a clear and rationally formulated decision. It is a question of broad tendencies and general decisions, often based on little understood motives. A consideration of the development and local distribution of the two movements serves to throw light on the nature of this relation.

Distribution of external and internal migration.—It is far more difficult to measure the strength of internal migration than that of external migration, or emigration. A number of minor migrations occur, which cannot be statistically established, such as movements within the same city, parish, or *län*. Only the more significant migrations appear in the statistics; consequently they include only a small part of the total mobility; but, on the other hand, they should give a fairly adequate picture of the relative development of the internal migrations. As may be seen in Table 23, it is a question of two co-equal movements, even if the internal migration is the first to assume importance. After the beginning of emigration in the sixties, it increases rapidly, and during the eighties attains a considerably higher level than the internal migration. If visualized as plotted data, both curves mount together, and through their parallel development show that they are governed by the same conditions. The curve for internal migration exhibits a more uniform path, suggesting the already-mentioned circumstance, that its strength is dependent on the development of Swedish industry, which can only proceed at a certain rate, while the

emigration curve displays an unlimited capacity to absorb the peaks of the total surplus over internal migration.

TABLE 23

EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION IN THE SWEDISH RURAL DISTRICTS *

YEAR	LOSS THROUGH INTERNAL MIGRATION		LOSS THROUGH EXTERNAL MIGRATION	
	1,000's	Per Cent**	1,000's	Per Cent**
1816-1840	37†	1.45	.....	.....
1841-1850	50	1.67	.....	.....
1851-1860	90	2.75	15	0.47
1861-1870	118	3.30	104	2.89
1871-1880	136	3.61	121	3.21
1881-1890	191	4.92	304	7.85
1891-1900	157	3.97	187	4.74

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. V, Tables 6 and 7.

** Annual loss per 1,000 of average population.

† The figures for changes in population in this twenty-four year period are reduced to a ten-year average.

The relation between these two phenomena is illustrated by their local distribution.

The principal group of *län* is that in which high internal migration is a concomitant of high emigration; the next most important group being that in which both movements are of small extent. Two interesting intermediate forms occur, however, which illustrate the theoretical nature of the process of decision. Upsala and Södermanlands *län* have very low emigration, but a not inconsiderable internal migration—actually above the average for Sweden as a whole.

That is to say, in these *län* the custom has arisen that when the "need" for emigration arises, people go chiefly to Stockholm, instead of America. In other parts of the country, as in Hallands and Jönköpings *län*, external migration has become the predominating type, and internal migration is of minor importance. The conditions that may induce a person in the Mälars district to move to Stockholm and other industrial centers in this region will, in Hallands *län*, bring about his emigration to America.

TABLE 24

EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL MIGRATION PER 1,000 IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS OF THE 18 SOUTHERN *Län* OF SWEDEN, 1851-1900 *

<i>Län</i>	EXTERNAL MIGRATION	INTERNAL MIGRATION	TOTAL MIGRATION
<i>Län</i> with Both External and Internal Migration above the Average			
Östergötlands	4.16	3.75	7.91
Jönköpings	6.26	4.09	11.35
Kronobergs	6.32	4.11	10.43
Kalmar	5.08	4.75	9.83
Älvsborgs	5.33	3.82	9.15
Skaraborgs	3.82	4.71	8.53
Värmlands	5.86	4.09	9.95
<i>Län</i> with External Migration above and Internal Migration below the Average			
Kristianstads	5.38	2.94	8.32
Hallands	6.02	2.34	8.36
<i>Län</i> with Both External and Internal Migration below the Average			
Stockholms	0.87	0.08	0.79
Gottlands	3.68	1.54	5.22
Malmöhus	3.65	2.87	6.52
Göteborg och Bohus	2.84	1.76	4.60
Västmanlands	1.34	2.35	3.64
<i>Län</i> with External Migration below and Internal Migration above the Average			
Upsala	0.63	3.68	4.31
Södermanlands	1.19	4.28	5.47
Blekinge	3.68	3.44	7.12
Örebro	3.39	4.79	8.18
SWEDEN	3.83	3.10	6.93

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. V, Table 56.

Thus, it appears that the expedient chosen by the individual at a given moment is determined largely by the attitude of the group to which he belongs. If the existing pattern binds the group to America, emigration is turned chiefly towards that country. If a corresponding relation has arisen between a certain group and a certain place in America, emigration turns thither when the occasion arises.

The extremes are thus represented by two types that participate but little in the balance between the two movements.

In most districts, however, patterns for both types of migration exist side by side. Through them there is established a more or less deliberate weighing of the merits of the two expedients. In order that such a balance may be maintained, it is merely necessary that there exist a marginal group that is doubtful which expedient to choose, even though the great mass of the people make this choice, one might say, by chance; i.e., blindly following a certain social custom when confronted by one of the often trivial reasons that serve to rationalize the decision to emigrate. This first, rather proximate selection is followed by a further one in the cities.¹³ For these people the cities are often merely stations on the journey to America.¹⁴ In this way their connection with their old environment is broken more gradually than otherwise, and no doubt emigration seems easier. This final selection in the cities is also largely decisive for the ultimate strength of the two movements, following the more approximate and chance selection effected under various conditions in the rural districts.

Summary.—In this chapter there have been analyzed the factors that render a group receptive to the idea of emigra-

¹³ Cf. chap. x.

¹⁴ This is illustrated by the figures for migration from the cities:

MIGRATION TO AND FROM THE CITIES

YEAR	MIGRATION		EMIGRATION
	TOTAL	INCREASE THROUGH	
1851-1860	77,865		1,711
1861-1870	71,587		18,727
1871-1880	100,875		29,147
1881-1890	118,889		72,169
1891-1900	108,342		59,962

(*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. V, Table 6)

The number arriving in the cities is always greater than the number finally remaining. Whereas the figures for the cities show a relatively uniform increase, the external migration from them is far more irregular. This is to be regarded as an indication of the strength of the pattern of internal migration, which constantly feeds the cities with greater numbers than can be absorbed at the prevailing wage standard.

tion, and also those that determine the origin of the movement. It was found that emigration is recruited chiefly from the districts where the earlier expansion of cultivated area has been greatest, and where this has been followed by a sinking of the death rate and a subsequent increase in the excess of births over deaths.

When agrarian expansion suddenly slowed down about 1860, the districts in which the greatest development had taken place previously became burdened with the greatest surplus population. The only solution of this situation, without endangering the standard of living, lay in emigration from the rural districts to the centers of industry or to foreign countries. Sweden was fortunately situated in that both these outlets opened at the same time that agrarian expansion was retarded. Two interdependent movements resulted, one to the cities and one to America. From the point of view of emigration it may be said that the rapid industrialization is the most powerful factor opposing emigration. On account of the rapid increase of population and the demand on the standard of living that the people through the foregoing development had come to consider as normal, and had been able to enforce through the possibility of escape offered by emigration, it became impossible to absorb all the population increase. Emigration offered this temporary surplus a solution of the problem of getting a living. Thus it is not poverty in itself that brings about emigration. On the contrary, emigration takes place during the contraction that in most cases occurs after rapid expansion, as the result of social resistance to the acceptance of the solution offered by a lowered standard of living. Obviously, then, emigration results rather from hopefulness and desire for advancement, and it is prompted more by the fear of poverty than by poverty itself.

CHAPTER VII

THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

Decrease in agricultural population.—Although Swedish agriculture advanced with respect to production and cultivated area even after 1860, the number of people engaged in agricultural pursuits decreased. Whereas in 1850 this population numbered 2,714,000 persons, and in 1880, 3,078,000, it sank to 2,756,000 in 1900. Between 1860 and 1900 the cultivated area increased not less than a million hectares, from approximately two and one-half to three and one-half million hectares.¹ Therefore, neither the stagnation of the population nor, still less, the reduction of its absolute strength, can be attributed to lack of expansion of new land, even though the actual expansion might have been insufficient to absorb the entire surplus population.² Usually this phenomenon is imputed to some such circumstance as the allurements of the city, the dullness of rural life, or the dissolution of the old customs. If the economic situation in agriculture is considered, the common conclusion is that the abandonment of the soil is due to "something rotten" in the

¹ Cf. Table 5, p. 69.

² Several theories have been advanced to explain this discrepancy, which has aroused serious apprehension among the conservative adherents of the existing social order, who regard the peasant as the backbone of society. "The cultivators of the soil," wrote Jefferson, "are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country with the most lasting bonds." (*The Best Letters of Thomas Jefferson*, selected and edited by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Boston, 1926, p. 15.)

The same romantic conception of the excellence of rural life and the stabilizing influence of the peasantry upon politics dominates Swedish thought, and serious concern is frequently expressed over the "depopulation of the rural districts."

state of Sweden, for the true function of agriculture is to support the largest possible population. Such a sentiment is expressed by the following quotations: "There remains no other explanation than that the threatening stagnation [in agriculture] is due to *economic maladjustment*. . . . If emigration is to be brought to a standstill, agriculture must fulfil its share of the task [which is to absorb the surplus population]." ³

"Our agriculture is not merely an example of agricultural chemistry or animal physiology—it *may be considered the most important economic question of present-day Sweden*—the question how as large a part of the agrarian population as possible shall be able to continue deriving a living from this staple industry." ⁴

This is not the place to judge whether or not it is correct to take a quantitative view of the population problem. But as long as thinking is dominated by such a view, the conception of the fundamental process of change that takes place in agriculture under the influence of the industrial revolution must be obscure. However deplorable the introduction of any labor-saving method must appear when viewed in this light, it belongs, nevertheless, to the normal course of economic progress, which rationally must be viewed mainly from a qualitative standpoint. A large population in itself is of course not to be desired, unless living under good conditions; otherwise the growth of population brings only a corresponding multiplication of human misery. ⁵

Productivity per capita seems, at present, to be the only rational standard by which economic progress can be measured. The less the outlay of capital and labor required for the attainment of a certain end, the greater the profit to be divided among those participating in production. If a given

³ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., pp. 663, 664.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 663.

⁵ For the older Swedish view of society see chap. v.

result can be attained with a smaller investment of capital and labor, this ought to be regarded as progress, although the chauvinist may regard it as misguided humanitarianism.

Only because the population has not increased in the same degree as productivity, has it been possible to raise the standard of living, in which respect agriculture does not differ from any other industry. But the strength and wide implications of the change in the methods of agriculture are often overlooked.

The agrarian revolution and the alteration of methods thereby effected influenced the demand for labor in various ways. It is possible to distinguish two major tendencies. One arose from the transfer of production from the farms to the factories. This brought about an increase in the demand for labor in industry, and a corresponding—or even greater—decrease in the demand for labor in agriculture. To attain the same results, relatively less labor was required than under the old domestic form of production. Probably it would be only fair to assume that this transfer affected women more than men, even though numerous exceptions could be named. Such tasks as weaving, spinning, and candle-making, formerly performed largely by women as part of their household duties, were now taken over by industry.⁶

On the other hand, the improvement in agricultural methods, the increasing use of machinery, and the improved forms of operation made it possible to carry out the same

⁶ It is difficult to gain statistical expression for this tendency; however, it should be observed that the size of families decreased during the period of emigration. Moreover, the number of maid-servants and grown daughters living at home decreased somewhat more than the corresponding male class. Comparison of the figures for 1860 and 1900 shows that the male class increased 10.6 per cent in this interval. Between 1840 and 1850 and between 1870 and 1900 the female class decreased 2.2 per cent. These figures are of course too uncertain to permit any definite conclusions, but they illustrate the decreased demand for domestic labor, which probably contributed heavily towards increasing the emigration of servant girls to America. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, pp. 40, 43.

work with less labor than before, thus influencing the demand for agricultural labor. An idea of the magnitude of the changes in agricultural methods can be gained by comparing the number of male workers employed in agriculture at a given time with the harvest and cultivated area.

TABLE 25

HARVEST, AREA OF CULTIVATED LAND, AND NUMBER OF MALE WORKERS
IN AGRICULTURE AT DIFFERENT TIMES

	1801-1820	1841-1860	1891-1900
Annual harvest of cereals in 100 kg.*	6,295,000	11,278,000	22,775,000
Cultivated area in hectares**	975,000	2,075,000	3,432,000
No. of male workers engaged in agricultural occupations†	906,000	1,196,000	1,292,000

* Includes wheat, rye, barley, oats, and small grains.

** *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 91.

† *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IX, p. 182.

TABLE 26

HARVEST OF CEREALS AND CULTIVATED AREA PER MALE WORKER
IN AGRICULTURE

(Summary Drawn from Table 25)

	1801-1820	1841-1860	1891-1900
Harvest per male worker, in kg.....	695	943	1,763
Hectares of cultivated land per male worker	1.08	1.74	2.66

While the productivity per hectare did not perceptibly increase during the nineteenth century—for cereals it averaged 1,200 kg. between 1801 and 1820; and 1,460 kg. between 1901 and 1910—the productivity per worker shows great increase. Between 1801 and 1820, and 1891 and 1900, the average harvest per worker was almost doubled, and the cultivated area per worker increased about two and one-half times. But this growth was not uniform. Between 1801 and 1820, and 1841 and 1860, the harvest, per worker, increased about 250 kg.; between 1841 and 1860, and 1891

and 1900, it increased over 800 kg. During the latter half of the nineteenth century the rapidity of development was about three times as great as during the earlier period.

As long as agriculture continues to expand quantitatively, that is, in terms of increased areas of production, this expulsion of labor through changes in methods is not noticeable from the outside. The workers thus expelled are reabsorbed by the demand for labor created by the expansion of agriculture. As long as this demand is great enough to counterbalance the decrease in the labor requirement per hectare, the total agrarian population will increase.

Thus it is natural that partly on account of its lower intensity and partly on account of the strong concomitant expansion of area, this movement should have escaped general attention prior to 1860. It is only after this time that the effects of the agrarian revolution appear on the surface, and migration from agriculture to other occupations becomes a normal phenomenon in Sweden as in other lands of Western civilization. It will be remembered that a similar development occurred in America, where, after the cultivation of new land had come to a standstill, the agrarian districts lost part of their population to the cities.

Even if the development prior to 1860 is less spectacular, its importance must not be disregarded on this account; it is of basic significance to the later development of the demands of the progressive standard, which, subsequently, were to play such an important part in the rise of emigration.

Changes in agricultural methods prior to 1860.—Although the changes that took place in agricultural methods prior to 1860 were temporarily obscured by the general expansion, their magnitude is illustrated by the figures for labor required per hectare, at different times. Whereas in the beginning of the century the area of cultivated land per worker was 1.08 hectares, it had increased to 1.74 hectares by the

middle of the century; in other words, if the former proportion had remained constant during the period in question, the number of persons employed in the period from 1841 to 1860 would have been 1,920,000 instead of 1,196,000, the number actually employed. This means that if the standard of the early eighteenth century had remained constant, about 725,000 more workers could have been employed on the area under cultivation at the middle of the century. Or it may be stated in another way: if only the technical improvements had been made, or no new land had been cultivated, the population engaged in agriculture in the period from 1841 to 1860 would have averaged only about 521,000 persons, as contrasted with the 906,000 engaged in the period from 1801 to 1820. Instead of absorbing nearly 300,000 workers, agriculture would have dispensed with not less than 385,000 workers in addition to the natural population increase. Part of the margin thus created through the development of labor-saving methods was undoubtedly used for improving the economic status of the agrarian workers. The figures just cited give an idea of the strength of the progress during this period. The significance of this, especially because of its influence on the dissolution of the old views and standards of the peasantry, is such that the attendant circumstances are worthy of notice.

Repartition of farms.—A detailed discussion of the older organization of Swedish agriculture lies beyond the scope of this study. Before emigration began the village organization occupied a more central place in the life of the peasantry than later. Certain areas called *allmänningar* [commons] were owned by the community; certain kinds of work were performed in common, and the harvests were divided among the participants. Private holdings were divided into a large number of plots, often widely scattered. Consequently agriculture suffered, for "it is impossible to care properly for these small plots, sometimes scattered in

thirty or forty different places. For instance, they can neither be fenced in nor drained.”⁷

Obviously a large amount of labor was required per unit of area, since so much of the farmer's time was spent in moving himself and his implements from place to place. Nor was it possible to apply scientific methods or to use expensive implements; the methods in use were of necessity antiquated and costly. Thus land reform was prerequisite to the advancement of agriculture. Such a reform was carried out; it is known as *skifte* [repartition]. Without entering into detail, it may be stated that it implied a compulsory concentration of land. The old village communities were broken up, and new farm units were created. This vast undertaking was not completed at a single stroke. It began in the middle of the eighteenth century and the most important laws were enacted between 1749 and 1803, followed by others during the greater part of the nineteenth century. The *skifte* was followed by improvement of the methods of agriculture.

“Fifty years ago, as we all remember,” runs a description, the *storskifte* [general repartition] was the great event of the day. It was carried only after a long struggle. . . . All the peasants who were far-sighted and intelligent were for it, and it proved that they were right. Once the reform was well carried out, an astonishing improvement began in agriculture. We got our holdings and our farms pieced together; it was easier to look after the farms then, and the harvests were bigger. Just as a matter of interest, compare the small buildings that we tore down then—the low, small, dilapidated barns and granaries, the stables and cowhouses—with the present ones, and then compare the harvests. My father used to say that if the rye lasted till Christmas he called it a good year. Now he didn't have such a big area. I have bought a little and broken a little new land, but at any rate I sell on the average 2,500 kilograms [91.7 bushels] of rye over and above my wheat. He stored his hay in his little, tumble-down cowsheds and his countless haymows that were no bigger than cheese-boxes. I have lofts as big as churches, but they're hardly

⁷ Kyrkoherden Axel Gustafson (Mora), *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 445.

enough some years. So the *storskifte* worked wonders all right, as far as that's concerned.⁸

In addition to the economic gain brought about by repartition, it was followed by great alterations in other aspects of social life. The older social organization broke down and was replaced by new customs and views, which were of great significance for the development of emigration. The individual became more independent; his feeling of belonging to a certain group was weakened; his views and customs became distinct from those of the group. As long as he was surrounded on all sides by the village organization, the idea of emigration did not present itself so readily as when he was thrown altogether upon his own resources and was guided in his behavior by the individualistic ideas of a money economy. This aspect of the problem also is well illustrated by the author just quoted:

But not all clouds have a silver lining. The weakness of the *storskifte* was that while it broke up the village communities, it also loosened the bands that held us together. The peasants had really never disputed and quarreled with each other until during the *storskifte*, but then they disputed and quarreled so much that peace never was restored. Some were taken, but some were left behind. Some moved out, some stayed behind in the villages. . . . Well, time went on and gradually things got smoothed out. Those who had moved out got along fairly well on their farms. But the isolation remained, and gradually it developed a new peasantry, or, more correctly, developed the peasant out of the peasantry, developed the individual out of the class. In the first place the new *bonde* developed a feeling of independence. He could breathe more freely; his neighbor's house no longer obstructed the view from his window; now he could see his own land. But his neighbor's doorstep was further away than before, and he never crossed it unless on an errand, and that became more and more seldom. . . . Before the *skifte* all larger undertakings were carried out in common; road maintenance and bridge building—even haymaking was sometimes done in common. One man was sent from each household, and either lots were drawn

⁸ Carl Larsson i By, *Åtta kvällar* (Stockholm, 1912). Quoted in *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 668. The author draws his material from Dalarna, where general repartition was carried out later than in most of the other provinces.

for different parts of the harvest or they were dealt out among the different households. If one was in straits, the others in the village helped out.

After the *skifte* the peasant was alone. He got his share of the meadows to mow single-handed and his piece of road to gravel and maintain, and he had to build his own bridges and houses as best he could. The binding tie was broken, and now it is almost impossible to retie it.

Changes in agricultural methods after 1860.—The following figures show the number of people that agriculture, owing to the improvement in methods, could dispense with after 1860, and in what year the turning-point occurred when cultivation of new land no longer proceeded rapidly enough to compensate for this expulsion. In 1841-1860 the area of cultivated land per male worker averaged 1.74 hectares; in 1891-1900, 2.66 hectares. This means that if technique and methods had remained unchanged in the interval between these two periods, the number of persons employed in agriculture in 1891-1900 would, according to the standards of 1841-1860, have been 1,972,000 instead of 1,292,000. This signifies that about 680,000 persons were rendered superfluous through the agrarian revolution during this period. Considering that about 717,000 persons emigrated between 1851 and 1908, it is easy to understand the importance of this revolution for emigration. Had agrarian development ceased with such conditions as prevailed at the middle of the century, the later emigrants could have been absorbed by agriculture.⁹

This paradoxical development of a rising standard of living and constantly increasing emigration is conditioned by the factors that determine the technical development of agriculture. It is impossible for the layman to evaluate the

⁹ This, of course, holds true only upon the condition that the new land laid under cultivation in the latter part of the century came up to the standard of the land already cultivated. In view of the slow but constant improvement in yields per hectare, there is no reason to suppose that the quality on the whole was poorer than before; at least, not poor enough to influence emigration materially.

great changes wrought in agriculture by the agrarian revolution. It seems, however, as though the earlier progress in agriculture was largely the result of the concentration of land effected by the *skifte*, the greater part of which was completed by the middle of the nineteenth century. The development formerly stimulated by the modification of external conditions was now governed by the internal revolution in methods, made possible by the beneficial effects of the *skifte*.

But improvements leading to scientific agriculture do not come of themselves. However great the desirability of reform, however profitable it may be, it cannot be carried out unless the farmer possesses the requisite knowledge and ability for putting it into practice. This rests upon two conditions. The first is the element of knowledge, disseminated through proper channels; the second is an adequate system of agricultural credit.

The period between 1840 and 1860 is of fundamental importance in both of these respects. An event of prime importance bearing upon the dissemination of knowledge is the statute of 1842, which ordained that every parish should conduct at least one public elementary school. "The awakening of thought and new demands on life, which gradually became the fruit of organized public education, has been of fundamental significance for the question of emigration."¹⁰

This is all the more true because receptivity to the idea of further emigration was thereby heightened. Through the general spread of the reading habit, practical knowledge was acquired concerning scientific methods of agriculture. The first agricultural school in Sweden was founded in 1848; others were soon started, and the country was provided with a more or less complete system of agricultural education, supplemented by state experiment stations and agricultural advisors.

¹⁰ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 136.

The application of the knowledge gained through improved education was largely dependent on the possibility of obtaining the necessary credit; agricultural credit gained in strength about the middle of the century.¹¹

This made it possible for the farmer to obtain the working capital necessary for carrying out more scientific methods, purchasing machinery, constructing new buildings, and so forth.

Little need be said regarding the nature of the changes that now took place in agriculture. To some extent they affected its general trend. Gradually a transition occurred from grain growing to mixed farming, rotation of crops, and dairying. Methods also were affected: instead of hand-power and relatively simple tools, machines now came into use. Improved plows, horse-drawn rakes, and mowing and threshing machines replaced the old hand labor.

Relation between the agrarian revolution and emigration.—Inevitably the question arises: What is the relation between emigration and the improvement in methods? Obviously it is not direct. The basis of agriculture is the tillable land, which can be expanded only to a limited extent. When methods are developed that make it possible to cultivate a given area with a half or a third as much labor, and obtain the same or even better results than before, either the area devoted to agriculture must increase or the relative demand for labor must decrease. When the expansion of land used for agriculture became, after 1860, insufficient to absorb as large a part of the population increase as before, the classes dependent on the proceeds of their labors

¹¹ For a more detailed study of the development of agricultural credit, see chap. viii. A certain conception of this development may be gained from an examination of the difference between newly granted and paid-up farm mortgages. During the period from 1841 to 1845 these mortgages increased about sixty million Swedish crowns. Between 1861 and 1865 the difference amounted to one hundred and eighty-three million Swedish crowns. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. X, esp. p. 68.

had to choose between accepting lower wages and emigrating.

While the changes brought about by the agrarian revolution worked chiefly to the benefit of the landowning class, they tended to impair the relative status of the working classes.¹² Thus the same classes that already had been placed in a precarious position through the dwindling supply of new land and the continued population increase were affected by this additional adverse tendency, i.e., the use of machinery. While the relative limitation of the expansion of farming area had threatened their future and made it more difficult for the younger generation to find employment, the development of new methods now endangered the very position they had already attained.¹³

¹² This situation is not peculiar to agriculture; a similar one occurs whenever labor-saving methods decrease the demand for labor, and industry cannot expand at the same rate that the demand for labor is diminished through the introduction of better technique. Where expansion is limited by an inelastic factor of production, e.g., a limited natural resource, such as an oil well or mine, the solution of the labor problem lies either in lower wages, which make a greater utilization of labor profitable, or in the transfer of workers to other occupations.

Concerning the situation that arose in American agriculture through the introduction of new methods, H. W. Quintance writes: "It is idle to say that machinery does not displace individual workmen and equally idle to contend that such displacement does not entail hardship and suffering. It is only when we speak about labor as a quantity of laborers in mass, that we may presume to say that there has been no displacement of labor." (*The Influence of Machinery on Production and Labor*, Publications of the American Economic Association, Vol. V, No. 4, New York, 1904, pp. 30, 31.)

That this applies with equal force to the Swedish situation seems to be recognized, though casually, in one of the supplements to the Emigration Report: "The introduction of farming machinery has obviated the necessity of assistance from the non-landed classes, and accordingly has rendered emigration necessary." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII, No. 5, p. 10.)

¹³ To a certain extent the demand for labor changes its nature through the exigencies of modern development. The old *torp* and *backstuge* institutions became too clumsy and unwieldy to meet the requirements for constant attention and adaptability placed upon them by a scientific system of agriculture. This may explain the rise of the *statare* class, which is more directly attached to the farm than are the older classes. Cf. pp. 96, 97

The importance of technical development as a factor in emigration is shown by the fact that in the course of time emigration increases in the districts that formerly had relatively small expansion of area and emigration. Since the earlier differences in types of population are equalized through emigration, the agrarian revolution remains a uniform cause of emigration, except where expansion has been great enough to compensate for the relatively decreased demand for labor. The gains thus fall to a class comparatively little receptive to the idea of emigration, while the costs of progress must be paid by the newer, more unstable classes; the result is an increasing inclination for emigration. Of special interest is the increase in the Mälar provinces, where, since large-scale agriculture is common, the degree of receptivity for improvements in methods is likely to be high.¹⁴

It is rather futile to inquire to what extent the agrarian revolution increased or decreased the ultimate strength of emigration. Had it not occurred, the total prosperity per inhabitant would of course have been less. But this in itself is of little importance, since, as has already been shown, it is not poverty in itself that causes emigration.

On the other hand, there is reason to believe that without the agrarian revolution, emigration might have been less. It should be emphasized that the agrarian revolution

The profits of the agrarian revolution fall mostly to a class with a more stable social position and better economic status than the non-landed classes, which, being less resistant to disturbing influences, have to bear the brunt of the burden.

¹⁴ Naturally it is possible that the transition from cultivation of new land to cultivation of already broken ground decreases the demand for labor. This hypothesis appears to be in some degree corroborated by the figures for the area of cultivated land per inhabitant, in different *län*. Whereas in Södermanlands, Upsala, and Östergötlands *län*, where cultivation of new land has slowed down, in 1905 the areas of cultivated land per hundred inhabitants were respectively 103, 123, and 85 hectares; the corresponding figures for Västernorrlands, Västerbottens and Norrbottens *län*, where cultivation is very intensive, were only 34, 54, and 24 hectares.

improved the status of the lower classes only so long as the cultivation of new land kept pace with the development of methods. After this ceased there was danger of their losing what ground had been won. The masses clung with the greatest tenacity to the standards already attained, and rather than relinquish them, many took refuge in emigration. If the agrarian revolution had not occurred, development would have proceeded on a lower level, and one of the strongest causes for migration would have been eliminated. Especially in the districts where conditions had been more nearly stationary, and development more uniform, emigration probably would never have attained the volume it actually did achieve, since unchanging conditions obviate the danger of a retrogression in the standard of living, the reaction to which is the most common cause of emigration.¹⁵

¹⁵ The parallelism between the social background of emigration and revolutions is in this case striking. It calls to mind Bacon's words regarding the masses: "While kept in brutish ignorance, poverty, and weakness, they are likely to feel like the ass in the fable—indifferent whose burden they bear. If they increase in power, wealth, and material development, they are likely to be ever on the watch for an opportunity to shake off the degrading yoke." The truth of this observation has been confirmed by modern research as to the nature of revolutions. Contrary to popular belief, revolutions are generally preceded by a period of political and economic progress in the revolting class. When for some reason this does not proceed with what is regarded as sufficient rapidity, or a retrogression takes place, there ensues a critical situation from which revolutions and violence easily may arise. Cf. L. P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolutions* (University of Chicago Press, 1927), esp. chap. v. It is interesting to compare the origin of English emigration during the seventeenth century: "The special area in which inhabitants were most disposed to seek new homes was that around the low country draining into the Wash . . . the period of heaviest emigration—that between 1630 and 1640—marking perhaps the greatest economic readjustment and strain. The rise in rents and land values had, indeed, been enormous during the preceding half-century. But this general prosperity had so closely been bound up with the great expansion of the cloth industry, that in this section it may be said to have wholly depended upon it. From 1635 to 1630, however, the business of the clothiers suffered a very severe decline, which continued for some years, and the decline was very marked in the agricultural industries as well." (James T. Adams, *The Founding of New England*, Boston, 1921, p. 122.)

Such a maintenance of a uniform standard of living would also have retarded the discontent, criticism, and resulting dissolution of older views and customs, in so far as this malaise resulted from the agrarian revolution; development would have progressed more smoothly, with less pronounced changes, and a poorer, less progressive population would presumably have accepted the conditions offered, since the lack of a basis for comparison makes even miserable conditions appear unavoidable.

However this may be, speculations of this nature are valuable, in so far as they clarify the nature of the mechanism of migration. Before leaving the question of the effect of the agrarian revolution, however, still another problem may profitably be considered.

The paradox of the shortage of labor in agriculture.—"The shortage of labor in Swedish agriculture is very often the subject of complaint," states the Emigration Report.¹⁶ This complaint is so general that it merits explanation.

It appears to be in direct opposition to the views previously advanced, but the seeming inconsistency is capable of explanation. As the productivity of agriculture increases and relatively less work is required for the accomplishment of a given result, the cultivated area expands—if not as rapidly as before, at least in considerable proportions. This illustrates the well-known fact that "labor shortage" is a relative conception. The situation is comparable to a period of inflation, when it is said that money is scarce, and new issues of money are necessary to satisfy the demand.

Like the relation between external and internal migrations, the relation between the supply of labor and alterations in agricultural practices is a mutual one. In the same manner that emigration is said to be dependent on the revolution in methods, the revolution in methods is dependent on emigration. Heretofore it has been assumed that the

¹⁶ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 692.

change in methods bears no direct relation to emigration. From the standpoint of emigration this assumption is only natural, but its basis deserves critical attention.

The revolution in methods may in one case be the cause of emigration, while in another case the shortage of labor—caused by emigration—may necessitate a revolution in methods. Changes in agricultural technique are made profitable by the increasing cost of labor. Once emigration is well under way, it readily tends to go in advance of the improvement in methods. For those farmers who adhere to the older methods, emigration leads to a substantial difficulty in hiring labor at the old wage level, while there is no embarrassment for those who have adapted themselves to, or kept ahead of, the changing conditions. When the landowner is backward in the development of methods, he bears the costs of the revision of agriculture, instead of the worker. Instead of dismissing surplus workers, the employer is forced to offer increasingly high wages in order to retain an adequate number of workers, whose demands have been heightened through comparison with the greater possibilities of income in the Swedish cities or in America. Naturally it is impossible to say how large a share of the technical changes introduced in agriculture would have been carried out if such changes had not been stimulated by the rising wages that result when emigration removes workers more rapidly than they are expelled by the improvement in methods. It is sufficient to point out that now the one, now the other of these mutually interdependent factors is in the lead. In the earlier stages, the improvement in agricultural methods probably played the larger rôle, and in more recent times, emigration.¹⁷

¹⁷ This is confirmed by the fact that it was only after the beginning of the twentieth century or certainly not further back than the 1890's, that complaints over the shortage of labor began to be seriously raised. In the reports of the different provincial agricultural societies concerning emigration, one frequently finds such a statement as, "The difficulty of

Summary.—Especially during the later phases of emigration the changes in agricultural methods called forth under the influence of the industrial revolution assume a very great significance. Through the use of machines and scientific, labor-saving methods, the actual saving of labor effected between 1841 and 1860 and 1891 and 1900 assumed about the same strength as the entire volume of emigration. The extent to which methods are modified is partly dependent on the strength of emigration, but nevertheless a wide margin is left to explain the origin of a large part of the actual emigration arising from this cause. After emigration is well established, the disparities in the strength of emigration from different districts tend to decrease, because the agrarian revolution occurred independently of the earlier growth of population and expansion of area.

The two great factors in the background of emigration, the cultivation of new land and the agrarian revolution, are both signs of economic progress. Both contribute greatly towards increasing the total wealth of the nation, although the benefits in both cases are unequally distributed. Both are essential to increased prosperity among the rural population, but both give rise to emigration, not because they increase poverty, but because they accustom the people to such a continuous progress in living standards that when this progress seems to be threatened, a part at least of the people are willing to adopt some exceptional measure—such as emigration was in the beginning—in order to escape the calamity of economic retrogression, which inevitably follows when the increase in population does not adapt itself with sufficient rapidity to a changing situation.

obtaining agricultural labor has first become acute within the last ten years [that is, since 1900]." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 693.)

CHAPTER VIII

CUSTOMS CONCERNING INDEBTEDNESS AND INHERITANCE

The upheaval in agriculture prior to and during the period of emigration is concomitant with fundamental changes in folkways, ideas, and traditions. The introduction of new methods is possible only in a situation where an adequate supply of capital is available and the rigidity of the old conventions is replaced by more elastic standards. Once these changes are well begun, the causation is not simple, as it is a case of mutual interdependence.

To treat this interesting development in detail is impossible here—in fact it would involve the rewriting of a significant period of Swedish history. In popular discussions, however, certain aspects of this general development are advanced as causes of emigration, regardless of the fact that many of them are only symptomatic, or are means of releasing tendencies that are often diametrically opposed.

Foremost among these alleged contributory causes of emigration are the mortgaging and mobilization of land resulting from the dissolution of the old Teutonic customs governing the division of land, with special reference to inheritance.

Through constantly renewed and increased loans, mainly consequent upon division of inheritance, when one heir must go in debt in order to redeem the farm from his co-heirs, certain classes are forced to labor under great handicaps in order to keep their heads above the water. "The class of small farmers thus lived a life of relentlessly recurring debts, an extremely heavy burden in their already hard

struggle for existence."¹ Eventually the breaking point is reached; the straw that breaks the camel's back may be an economic crisis, sickness, or some other adversity, which forces the owner to sell his farm in order to meet his obligations. Depressed and dissatisfied, he and his household fall an easy prey to emigration. The emigrant himself, as well as the onlooker, is likely to attribute the need of emigration to indebtedness, for had this not been incurred, there would have been no cause for emigration. However true this may be in individual cases, other phases of the problem must also be kept in mind.

The first of these is the real rôle played by capital in agriculture. The burden of indebtedness is usually compensated by gains, as at least a part of the borrowed capital is used to further production. Only in this way were the improvements in agriculture outlined in the foregoing chapter made possible. This development in itself has nothing to do with the incurrence of debt, since it could have taken place regardless of the source of capital, if only capital were available.

The second circumstance involves the broader economic significance of the institution of indebtedness, which in reality implies only a certain redistribution of ownership. One person's loss is compensated by another's gain. The nation as a whole becomes neither richer nor poorer because of internal indebtedness. To understand the significance of debt per se for emigration, these gains also must be reckoned with. The problem is comprised of two tendencies, and the picture is distorted if only one of these is given attention.

In dealing with the significance of indebtedness and its attendant circumstances, the first essential is to distinguish between the actual part played by capital in the cultivation of new land and the improvement of methods, and its im-

¹ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 674.

portance for the emigration situation. The second is to ascertain the effect of the distribution of ownership through the institution of indebtedness itself, resulting from divisions of inheritance and other circumstances.

The function of capital in agrarian development.—The foregoing chapters included an analysis of the fundamental significance for emigration of the dynamic development of agriculture, the cultivation of new land, and the introduction of scientific methods. It must be remembered, however, that this development would not have been possible without the aid of capital. The need of capital in the expansion of area is often overlooked, but if the term *waiting* is employed, this relation becomes more apparent. For the reclaiming of new land, the erecting of new buildings, and the procuring of even a modest supply of livestock and implements, waiting is essential, as the results of the invested labor and capital are first evidenced later in the form of higher yields and land values. In the interim, if no outside capital is available, the waiting must be assumed by the settler himself. Because of his lack of ready funds, this waiting, in the literal sense, assumes the form of "abstinence." He accepts a low temporary income while waiting for the final result of his labors. But one should not be deceived into overlooking the fact that by nature the farmer is a capitalist on a small scale.²

Only as long as the cultivation of new land is undertaken on a modest individual scale can it proceed without the assistance of outside capital. Such projects as the draining of lakes and swamps require a larger immediate outlay of

² The early settlers in any new country were forced to employ the same method of saving. Hard personal labor and a momentarily low standard of living were substituted for outside capital. The poverty of the cultivator is thus more apparent than real, since the result of his labor only becomes evident later in the form of increased farm values and a secure station in life. However paradoxical it may seem, the capitalistic nature of the cultivator explains much of the frugality that strikes the observer in the pioneer districts.

capital than the individual cultivator can command. The aid of outside capital is also necessary for the improvement of agricultural methods. Only through loans can the individual farmer, in a limited time, obtain new implements and more profitable herds of livestock, and reconstruct his buildings. Especially the later phases of reclamation and the agrarian revolution are dependent for their rapid and successful fulfilment on the availability of outside capital. This capital is furnished through agricultural credit, the organization of which hardly requires detailed consideration.

Agricultural credit is thus a necessary factor in the dynamic development previously outlined, out of which gradually arose the situation relieved by emigration. The indirect significance of credit for emigration consequently can hardly be overestimated. There is, however, no reason for discussing this situation anew. It is not this aspect of indebtedness that arouses public sentiment and reflection on the subject of indebtedness and emigration. The customary approach is far more direct.

Generally it is the institution of indebtedness itself that is blamed for emigration. The complaints are divided between the organization of credit and the use to which borrowed capital is put. The dissolution of the old customs governing the division of inheritance, which really implied a restricted form of primogeniture, necessitated an increase in ready funds for the purpose of buying out the co-heirs. These funds usually had to be obtained through loans on the farm. This is said to have placed such a burden on agriculture as to threaten its very existence.³ This assumption is based on the belief that the more uniform distribution of

³ The greatest burden for the present-day farm owner would seem to be interest and the amortization of loans on the farm. As a remedy against this evil (!) Emil Swensén has on several occasions proposed the *institution of a new form of agricultural credit*. (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 674.) This goes to prove that it is not the rôle of capital that is referred to, but the evil lying in the institution of credit.

income effected by an equal division of inheritance threatens to lead to emigration, at least when attained at the cost of the mortgaging of the land.⁴

Here, then, are two views, both of which merit closer analysis. The first is that the distribution of ownership resulting from equal distribution of inheritance and the increasing indebtedness incident thereto, is in itself a cause of emigration. The second is that emigration is the result of the institution of agricultural credit. But before these can be viewed in the proper light, it is desirable to survey, though briefly, the actual development of agricultural credit.

Development of agricultural credit.—Organized agricultural credit is a relatively recent phenomenon. Formerly when money was needed, it usually was supplied by the more wealthy, and a personal note was given for the required amount. Previous to the nineteenth century the mortgage was practically unknown in Sweden. Statistics are available only for a comparatively recent period. Table 27 shows the difference between newly granted and redeemed mortgages after 1836.

TABLE 27

DIFFERENCE FOR SPECIFIED PERIODS BETWEEN NEWLY ISSUED AND
PAID-UP MORTGAGES *

YEARS	CROWNS	YEARS	CROWNS
1836-1840	49,803,000	1861-1865	183,916,000
1841-1845	68,029,000	1871-1875	132,006,000
1846-1850	65,064,000	1881-1885	175,750,000
1851-1855	92,516,000	1891-1895	135,957,000
1856-1860	160,211,000		

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. X, p. 147.

⁴ Another proposed remedy against this "evil" is the reintroduction of the old privileged birthright. "As far as we can understand, *justice* [italics mine] demands that the heir who wishes to continue working the farm shall be granted a larger share than the others." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 675.)

This table gives some idea of the rapid increase of indebtedness. Whereas from 1836 to 1840 the increase was around fifty million Swedish crowns, twenty years later the amount of increase had been more than trebled, amounting to over one hundred and sixty million crowns. It is interesting to note that this great increase occurs at about the same time as the beginning of the era of modern agriculture.

TABLE 28
AMOUNTS OF MORTGAGES ON AND ASSESSED VALUES OF
AGRICULTURAL PROPERTY *

YEAR	AMOUNT OF MORTGAGES (IN CROWNS) AT CLOSE OF YEAR	ASSESSED VALUE IN CROWNS OF AGRICULTURAL PROPERTY	MORTGAGES, PER CENT OF ASSESSED VALUE
1870	547,400,000	1,667,000,000	32.8
1879	670,600,000	2,142,600,000	31.3
1887	870,200,000	2,158,800,000	40.3
1898	948,300,000	2,354,200,000	40.3
1908	1,248,100,000	3,022,100,000	41.3

* *Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, Del I, p. 210.

Indebtedness increases even after the relative importance of the cultivation of new land has declined. In spite of increases in assessed values, mortgages comprise an ever larger part of the value of the landed property. In 1870 the mortgage debts comprised 32.8 per cent of the assessed value; in 1887, 40.3 per cent; and in 1908, 41.3 per cent.⁵

Indebtedness due to changed practices in the division of land.—There may be situations in which an individual is forced into indebtedness through the borrowing of capital

⁵ It should be noted that the assessed values, on the whole, are conservatively estimated, although this is of little significance in a comparison between different years. The increase in assessed values, however, obscures to some extent the absolute increase in loans per hectare of cultivated land. The figures for the absolute indebtedness per hectare are available only subsequent to 1880. In the years 1880, 1890, and 1900 the registered mortgages per hectare amounted respectively to 256.9, 295.7,

which, when acquired, actually contributes nothing towards increased productivity. The debt assumed represents, accordingly, an uncompensated economic burden. This situation arises, for example, when one heir is under the necessity of borrowing funds at the time of the division of the land, for the purpose of purchasing the shares of joint heirs. Just such situations as this described above frequently occurred in Sweden, and consideration of them is of importance in any analysis of factors underlying emigration.⁶

In order to gain the proper perspective it is necessary to consider the background of the old inheritance customs. The Teutonic laws of inheritance, like the old land policy, were based on the desirability of an adequate living for the peasantry, for which purpose the individual was obliged to subordinate his interests to those of the family, the class, and the state.⁷

These views were based on the prevalence of stationary conditions. The supply of arable land and the methods of cultivation were regarded as given once and for all. In order to prevent the peasantry from sinking into poverty, it was deemed necessary to restrict the division of farms. The greatest danger arose when the farm passed into the hands of the heirs upon the death of the owner; consequently the customs of inheritance aimed at keeping the

and 336.0 Swedish crowns per hectare. (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 91; Bil. X, p. 156.) There is little doubt, however, that this increase began considerably earlier than shown by these figures.

⁶ Probably no great error is introduced by neglecting the similar situation brought about through loans secured for pure luxuries. The novelty of easy credit was no doubt responsible for loans that sometimes were used for unnecessary and even harmful purposes, as exemplified by the "mortgage wagons," so named because not infrequently the debtor abused his credit by purchasing a showy carriage. But such extravagances are natural in the transition between two periods; they tend to disappear as the peasantry adjusts itself to the true significance of money economy.

⁷ Cf. chap. v.

farm intact. "These older customs regarding the division of inheritance . . . actually worked in the same way as a privileged birthright, for to maintain the economic status of the farm it was necessary that the person who took over the farm should not be burdened with great obligations when buying out his co-heirs; if he were, the independence [*besuttenhet*] of the farm must eventually be threatened."⁸ This end was attained by means of customs and laws governing the division of inheritance. The essential feature of such a division was that one of the heirs should receive as large a share as possible. This was accomplished by appraising the farm at a very conservative figure, which reduced the debt to a correspondingly small part of the real value. The position of the principal heir was further secured by satisfying the co-heirs with personal notes instead of mortgages.

Further, these customs of inheritance were supplemented by another typically Swedish institution, the institution of *undantag*, which provided that the original owner during his lifetime should sell the farm to one of his heirs, a son or son-in-law, retaining for himself a certain yearly income, most often furnished in kind, called a "reservation."

"This custom was especially characteristic of the old view of land as family property (*släktjordåskådningen*). It insured the succession on the farm in accordance with the will of the head of the family. By virtue of his authority as master of the *gård* [farm] and head of the family, he arranged these important affairs as he saw best."⁹

Furthermore, in order that the farm should run no risk

⁸ By Nils Wohlin, "Bondeklassens undergrävande i sammanhang med de gamla arvjordåskådningarnas upplösning, emigrationen och bondejordens mobilisering," *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. X, esp. p. 34. This work gives a highly detailed description of the original customs and institutions governing the division of inheritance, and their gradual dissolution.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

of being divided, or threatened with a debt increasing generation by generation, it was necessary in this case also that the shares of the remaining heirs should be appraised below the market value. On this account "the sums required to satisfy the co-heirs were usually very small. Thus the co-heirs at an early age saw a brother or brother-in-law assume dominion over the ancestral *gård* and obtain a portion of great actual value." One cannot but agree with the author just quoted that "this obviously demands of the rising generation of peasants an inherited conviction of the necessity of such an arrangement for the preservation of the ancestral *gård* [farm.]"¹⁰

As long as stationary conditions prevail, there is no reason for assuming that the institution of inheritance would disturb the equilibrium of the peasantry in such a way as to cause emigration. On the contrary, in proportion as they contributed, as an integral part of a static system, to the preservation of stationary conditions, they prevented a dynamic development favorable to emigration.¹¹

However interesting a consideration of the old conditions in themselves may be, conditions in agriculture do not remain static: where the old views of inheritance do not break down, cultivation of new land nevertheless proceeds, and general dynamic conditions result.¹² The old institutions of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹¹ This is to a certain extent illustrated by conditions in the Mälar provinces, where relatively stable conditions and the older views of inheritance prevail, together with low emigration. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil., p. 55.

¹² Only to a minor extent is it correct to attribute the rise of dynamic conditions to the dissolution of the old customs regarding inheritance. Even though there sometimes exists a mutual relation between these phenomena, this is not always true. Dynamic conditions might very well arise even when conservative customs of inheritance prevail, as illustrated by Norrland. This is made possible by the breaking down of restrictions on the cultivation of new land, the number of servants, the granting of *torp*, etc. In this connection it is fairly safe to regard the dynamic development as the initial factor, followed later by a modification of customs.

inheritance assume a new significance. Instead of contributing to the maintenance of the relative strength of the older class formations and a general *status quo*, they now constitute an active factor in social and economic restratification.

Because one of the heirs was given preference, the accessions of new land tended to accumulate within the already landed classes, while the great mass derived but little profit from this change. Economic disparities accordingly tended to increase. On one hand the more wealthy *bonde* class increased slowly, while on the other hand the class of relatively poor workers increased rapidly. Obviously, the division of the new land in itself neither increased nor decreased the national wealth; it remains the same regardless of its distribution. But for the emigration situation the total wealth is of minor interest compared with the way in which the different classes react to the inequalities in distribution. Thus, it is clear that it is impossible to ascribe uniform results to the institution of inheritance itself; under different conditions it gives rise to different results, and different classes are affected in different manners. In other words, the question is one of the effect upon emigration of the reactions of the different classes towards their respective gains and losses.

Accordingly, the question resolves itself into two separate ones. How does the peasantry react to an improvement in its economic status? How do the poorer classes react when a relatively smaller share of the national wealth is apportioned to them? The *bonde* [peasantry proper] class may be regarded as less subject to the allurements of emigration, not only because of its comparatively secure economic status, but also because of the traditional bond of duty and sentiment binding it to its native soil. Even if the feeling of the importance of the family land decreases, it is still stronger among the peasantry proper than among the

population as a whole. It would hardly be presumptuous to assume that the peasantry proper would be more likely than other classes to remain in Sweden, even if no improvement should take place.

The poorer classes were less static, less restricted by tradition and custom—being the products of a recent dynamic development, their future existence was largely dependent on continuous expansion. Economically the old customs of inheritance favored the more wealthy, more stable classes, those less inclined towards emigration; while they depressed the poorer, less stable classes, which were more inclined towards emigration. It is likely—in fact, almost certain—that the increment to the peasantry proper did not so much deter emigration as the potential decrement from the poorer classes induced it. In other words, it is possible that the new distribution of income decreased emigration from the peasantry proper, but in a greater degree increased emigration from the more numerous poorer classes. Nevertheless it remains an open question whether or not the status of the poorer classes always affects emigration. The answer, it must be reiterated, depends on the reaction of these classes to their environment. It has been shown that the absolute wage level per se is not determinative for emigration.¹³ Although the living conditions of the lower classes and their share in the benefits of progress through the institution of inheritance have been relatively low, it cannot be argued that this has increased emigration, even though it may seem probable. In reality the answer will vary according to whether a long or short view is taken of the problem. If the population increase is only biologically limited, no economic system is adequate to insure a sufficient basis for population growth. In this case a greater or less share of the national income affects only the size of these classes; their status eventually becomes neither better nor worse,

¹³ Cf. chap. iv.

since the population increases only as far as the means of sustenance permit.

For shorter periods the matter assumes a different aspect. Had the land been divided more uniformly, the retardation in the cultivation of new land would not have been felt so keenly. A larger population, even if living at a lower standard, could still have been temporarily supported. Development would not have been so sharply arrested; the sudden contraction of the standard of living would have been relieved, and emigration would thus have lost the strong impetus arising from this sudden contraction. There remains always the possibility—not to say probability—that in this case emigration would have been less, at least for a time, although it is futile to attempt to predict the final result. In any event the continuance of the old institutions contributed towards hastening a crisis, and thus increased emigration.¹⁴

But the aspect of the question just considered is commonly ignored in consideration of the causation of emigration, however great its significance may be. The popular view included only the changes brought about through the dissolution of the antiquated institution of inheritance, and its replacement with equal rights of inheritance, which already had long been customary for other forms of property than land. As liberal ideas permeated the thinking of the peasantry, transfer of ownership became more frequent, until finally, under the pressure of the dynamic development, the old institutions began to totter. However a considerable time elapsed before they were replaced by new ones. The change proceeded more rapidly in some localities than in others, and emigration almost ceased before the reform was complete. In reality a compromise gradually evolved between the new and the old; the liberal practices

¹⁴ As has been already stated, no great error is introduced through disregarding the effect on the peasantry proper.

constantly gained ground, without achieving complete dominance.¹⁵ The real problem here has to do with the constant interplay of opposing tendencies before equilibrium is attained.

The above analysis of the old institution of inheritance in its relation to emigration applies, with certain modifications, to the system of inheritance in which all heirs share equally. Under these forms the peasantry proper receives a relatively smaller portion of the national wealth than before. In spite of the fact that the peasantry proper received a relatively smaller part of the national income under the new forms of inheritance than formerly, the conservative nature of this class, its adherence to old traditions and customs, and the relatively small extent to which mortgaging actually was carried, make it hardly probable that emigration from this class was perceptibly increased by the liberal reforms, especially since its prosperity increased during the period in question. In fact the leaders of the peasantry proper [*bonde* class] participated but little in emigration. There are cases where indebtedness became so great that in bad times—for instance during years of crop failure—the owner was forced to sell his farm and emigrate.¹⁶

But such minor deviations from the general tendency probably are more than counterbalanced by the advantages that accrue to the poorer classes. The share of the national wealth taken from the peasantry proper works to the benefit of the poorer classes. The question is to what degree this increment increases the tendency to migrate in these classes. That their status is relatively improved as long as this process continues is almost certain. This does not guar-

¹⁵ For information concerning the local distribution of these practices, see *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. X, esp. p. 55.

¹⁶ This seems to occur most readily where the institution of *undantag* survives, even though in a modified form, and the sums paid to the other heirs have been raised to satisfy more nearly the demands of an equal birthright. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. X, p. 41.

antee that in the long run their emigration is decreased through this transfer—the opposite may often be the case. If the inheritance is insufficient to insure a subsistence commensurate with the standards of the class concerned, instead of restraining the individual from emigrating it may prompt him to do so, a course that is made easier through his greater supply of ready funds. There is no possibility of determining the strength of these different tendencies. They work in different directions and are not amenable to numerical expression.

Enough evidence had been presented to show how extremely complicated the causation of emigration is, and how misleading it is to consider only one aspect of an institution, or to conclude from this that its effects are uniform or the same under all conditions.

Changes in market conditions and the value of money; indebtedness and emigration.—Hitherto only the effects of changes in ownership have been studied. However, most debts are fixed in terms of money, and the real value of the debt fluctuates with changes in the value of money. The value of money remaining constant, variations in land values will proportionately alter the burden of debt on farms. The significance of the changing value of money must be discussed before any analysis can be considered complete.

The value of money never remains altogether constant. A debt fixed in money is therefore necessarily subject to changes in its real value. In most cases these changes are relatively slow and insignificant, but at time they are of a violent nature. When the value of money falls, the landowner profits; he pays his interest and amortization in depreciated currency. The creditor suffers a corresponding loss. When the value of money rises, the situation is reversed. The nature of these changes has been too well elucidated by the studies stimulated by the immense fluctuations

during the World War to require discussion here. Nor do these fluctuations imply more than a redistribution of the national wealth; they make the country neither richer nor poorer.¹⁷ The question pertinent here is how the tendency toward emigration in different classes is affected by these gains or losses.¹⁸

Between the middle of the 1870's and the middle of the 1890's there occurred a period of falling prices in Sweden, as well as in the rest of the world.¹⁹ This period was characterized by unusually critical conditions in agriculture. The difficulties arising from the falling prices can hardly be considered an independent cause of emigration, but where other circumstances have already conspired to render the situation critical, these difficulties may become a decisive factor.

The opposite tendency—falling monetary values—has played a less important rôle in emigration. When the price level began to rise during the nineties, some adjustment had already taken place in agriculture, and the great drop in

¹⁷ It is assumed that debts are incurred within the country. In case of foreign debts the problem is of course somewhat different, but it is fairly safe to assume that by far the greater part of the agricultural debt is placed within Sweden.

¹⁸ Whether the capitalist class—which is assumed to consist of non-agriculturists—gains or loses, is of comparatively little significance for emigration. As a rule the attitude of this group deters its members from emigrating, and what gains or losses they may incur have little or no effect on their aversion to emigration. Consequently no direct account need be taken of this class.

¹⁹ The changes in the level of wholesale prices in Sweden are illustrated by the following indices:

YEAR	INDEX*	YEAR	INDEX*
1861-1865	122	1891-1895	89
1866-1870	112	1896-1900	91
1871-1875	123	1901-1905	97
1876-1880	109	1906-1910	106
1881-1885	100	1911-1915	128
1886-1890	92		

* The index for 1881-1885 is taken as 100.

prices during the World War occurred too late to influence emigration to any marked extent.²⁰

Like the value of money, the value of land is in a state of continual fluctuation. This is the other principal point of attack on the margin between the amount of indebtedness and the real value of property. If the earnings from agriculture sink, this margin decreases; if they sink far enough, the inevitable result is bankruptcy. Emigration is frequently the recourse of the bankrupt.

During a crisis, or in case of declining business cycles, profits decrease independently of indebtedness, and general pessimism prevails. The problem here is to determine how indebtedness in itself influences this situation. As long as agriculture is burdened with debt, an outside class shares the losses incurred through the fall in land values below the level at which the farmer is unable to meet his obligations. It is not unlikely that those who are forced to part with their farms will prefer to emigrate, but it must be remembered that in this case it becomes correspondingly easy for others to take their places on the farms, and the emigration of bankrupts thus decreases the necessity for emigration in another correspondingly large group.

This is to a certain degree illustrated by the great agricultural crisis of the eighties. As a result of American competition in the European grain market, which was made pos-

²⁰ The violence of these changes has never been greater than during the recent war-time inflation, although for other reasons emigration already was low at that time. In 1915 the registered farm mortgages amounted to 2,449,321,136 Swedish crowns; by 1918 they had increased to 2,782,065,091 crowns. During this interval the assessed value had been increased somewhat through the drop in money values, but, on account of the conservative nature of the assessments, the increase corresponds to only a part of the increase in market value. In 1915 the total indebtedness amounted to 49.9 per cent of the assessed value, and in 1918 to 36.8 per cent. According to this over-conservative estimate, the actual indebtedness was decreased not less than 25 per cent in three years. Obviously this decisively influenced the economic status of the farmer (*Statistisk Årsbok*).

sible by the winning of the American West and the improved means of transportation, the prices of agricultural products suddenly fell, and agriculture passed through a grave crisis. Incomes were diminished on account of falling prices; this depressed land values, and where indebtedness was heavy, numerous bankruptcies occurred.²¹

Consequently the level of indebtedness was raised, and in cases where the margin between the real values and indebtedness was narrow, the danger of bankruptcy was great. The value of compulsorily sold property was twice as great in 1886 to 1890 as in the preceding five-year period.²²

The frequency of bankruptcies in a certain district should under these conditions be an indication of the relative importance of indebtedness as a factor in emigration. Where bankruptcies are numerous, emigration should be correspondingly great. But it appears that there is no local relation between the frequency of bankruptcies and emigration. *Län* with a large number of bankruptcies as well as those with a small number have both high and low emigration.²³

²¹ The assessed values register only slowly the changes in the actual values. In spite of this there occurred at the close of the 1880's an absolute decrease in the total assessment value of rural property. In 1886 this value amounted to 2,454,000,000 Swedish crowns; in 1887, to 2,380,000,000 crowns; after this it increased gradually, and by 1890 it exceeded the first figure. Between 1886 and 1889 indebtedness increased from 914,000,000 to 977,000,000 Swedish crowns, or from 37.2 per cent to 40.2 per cent of the total assessed value.

²² The figures are as follows:

VALUE OF COMPULSORILY SOLD PROPERTY IN PER CENT OF ASSESSMENT VALUE IN
RURAL DISTRICTS

YEAR	PER CENT
1881-1885	1.2
1886-1890	2.5
1890-1895	1.6

²³ *Län* with a large number of bankruptcies and high emigration are: Östergötlands, Kalmar, Blekinge, Älvsborgs, and Skaraborgs. *Län* with a large number of bankruptcies and low emigration are Södermanlands, Gottlands, and Göteborg och Bohus. *Län* with a small number of bankruptcies and high emigration are Kristianstads, Hallands, Värmlands, and Örebro. *Län* with a small number of bankruptcies and low emigration are Stockholms, Upsala, and Västmanlands.

This in itself is not decisive proof that there may not be a relation, since indebtedness is only one of the many factors influencing emigration. But it does not contradict the conclusion that may be inductively drawn: because the land is mortgaged the capitalists are forced—after the margin between indebtedness and property value has been expended—to share with the landowning class the losses incurred during declining business cycles.²⁴ Consequently the landowner's loss becomes, on the whole, less than it would have been without indebtedness.

Thus it is hardly plausible that the real importance of indebtedness could so affect the economic status of agriculture as to increase the need for emigration. Naturally this does not imply that indebtedness does not play an important rôle as a motive for emigration. Psychologically it may easily arouse a feeling of bitterness and injustice, which contributes greatly towards inciting emigration. This belongs, however, to the general social background of emigration, and cannot be discussed again here.

Summary.—The great dynamic changes in agriculture—the cultivation of new land and the agrarian revolution—were followed, as well as caused, by many great alterations in views, ideas, customs, and institutions. Although not direct causes of this development, many phenomena were identified with it and popularly ascribed an influence on emigration. This has especially been the case with changes involving inheritance and the institution of agricultural credit. Both these phenomena are closely related and in the last analysis imply only a redistribution of the national income. Under fluctuating conditions the influence of these institutions is varying—now one class or group is favored, now another. Since different classes and groups are more

²⁴ It is not certain that the capitalist always suffers a direct loss as a result of bankruptcy, although it is likely, since otherwise there would be little excuse for bankruptcy.

or less receptive to emigration, certain changes bring about emigration, while others do not. It is impossible to say a priori what changes will induce emigration, since many conflicting tendencies are released. Emigration ultimately depends on the psychological reaction aroused by certain phenomena in the classes of prospective emigrants.

CHAPTER IX

INTERNATIONAL TRADE: TARIFFS AND MIGRATIONS ¹

Relation between trade and migrations.—The decreasing capacity of agriculture to absorb a constantly increasing population—a central point in the previous discussion—makes the ability of industry to absorb labor at a progressive wage level the most important of the retarding factors of emigration. Accordingly, in order to understand the background of emigration, it is essential to study the factors that influence the absorption of labor in industry. Decisive among these are the trade policies pursued by different nations. In Sweden, as in most other countries, a principal aim of the trade policy has been to protect the wages and the standard of living of the laboring class.²

The relation between tariffs and emigration is a part of the general relation between trade and the distribution of income, in so far as the latter influences emigration. The demand for goods implies indirectly a demand for the means essential to their production. The demand for different factors of production varies according to the type of goods produced. The growing of wheat requires a relatively larger portion of land than the manufacturing of textiles, which consumes a relatively larger proportion of labor

¹ The theoretical background of this chapter is based largely on Professor Eli Heckscher's article, "Utrikes handelns inverkan på inkomstfördelningen," *Ekonomisk Tidskrift*, Upsala, 1920; and Professor Bertil Ohlin's *Handelns Teori* (Stockholm, 1924).

² Cf. the motivation of the American tariff policy. For a more detailed study of protectionist views see J. Grunzel, *Economic Protectionism* (Oxford, 1916).

and capital. In regions where the supply of land is relatively great and labor and capital are relatively scarce, the demand for labor and capital dominates in relation to land. Under such conditions wages and the interest on capital gain relatively at the expense of rents. It then becomes profitable to produce goods that require a large proportion of land in comparison with other factors of production. In regions where land is the relatively scarce factor, the opposite is the case, since those goods that require a relatively large proportion of labor or capital can be produced to the best advantage. The reason why it is not equally profitable to produce all kinds of goods—aside from the advantages of large-scale production—is that the efficiency of production is dependent on the proportion in which the various factors of production are combined. Dependent on technical conditions, a given combination of factors, different for different kinds of goods, results in maximum productivity. The absolute limits to which the substitution of one factor of production for another can be carried are dependent on technical conditions. If the price of all the factors is given, there exists a certain proportion in which they can be most economically combined. This proportion varies with the price, but only within certain limits.³

Different regions are unequally provided with the various factors of production, and thus are naturally fitted for the production of different kinds of goods. Those goods that require relatively more of the less scarce factors of production can be most cheaply produced. If within a region the demand for such products is low, while the demand for products requiring relatively more of the scarce factors is high, the result is a low price for the plentiful factors of production. There is always a possibility that in a given region the proportion between the factors of produc-

³ Cf. Gösta Bagge, "Den tilltagande och den avtagande avkastningens lagar," *Ekonomisk Tidskrift*, Upsala, 1920.

tion will correspond to that indicated by the current demand, although this is highly improbable.⁴

The situation just depicted corresponds approximately to that existing between America and Europe in the nineteenth century. America had a relatively large supply of land and a relative scarcity of capital and of certain kinds of labor; while in Europe the situation was essentially the reverse.

Thus far, no account has been taken of the influence of international trade. It is important, however, to inquire concerning the extent to which free trade between different regions can equalize the differences in the relative scarcity of the factors of production; in other words, it is essential to determine the capacity of trade to equalize the prices of the factors of production in the different regions, and thus establish equilibrium in prices.

When trade begins between two regions of the types indicated, the goods exchanged are those that can be produced most cheaply in the respective regions. If the exchange is carried sufficiently far, the prices of the exchanged goods are equalized throughout the trading area.⁵ This is the essence of the conception of comparative costs. The result of trade, accordingly, is an equalization of prices between the trading countries; first of the prices of goods, and indirectly of the prices of the factors of production. In the country having a relatively large supply of land the chief products are agricultural commodities; these are exchanged for the industrial commodities of the other country, which commodities require a relatively greater outlay of labor and capital. In this way the demand for land is increased in

⁴ By this proportion is meant not the technically ideal proportion, which is constantly changing, but rather what at a given moment is the proper proportion if the supply of the whole world (or, practically, the trading world) is taken into consideration.

⁵ This reasoning is based on two assumptions: a common monetary standard, e.g., a gold or dollar standard, and the absence of transportation costs.

the former country and decreased in the latter, and vice versa for capital and labor. Trade is profitable until an equalization of prices in the different regions has been effected, and equilibrium persists as long as trade is carried on.

But it may be asked if trade is always adequate to establish equilibrium. Experience is a witness to the contrary. Great differences exist between prices in trading countries. This may of course be due partly to the fact that the trade is restricted, but ultimately the cause rests on conditions that no trade can overcome. The process of equalization cannot be carried on indefinitely. If trade is to establish equilibrium between the prices of the factors of production, these factors must be present in the different regions in just that proportion which corresponds to the requirements of international trade (and the demands of the particular region concerned). In other words, the substitution of one factor for another must not be carried further in one country than in another. If the supply of any one factor is so great in a certain region that it cannot be combined with other factors of production in the proportion indicated by the economic situation *in toto*, trade is insufficient to establish complete equilibrium.⁶ Although trade serves to equal-

⁶ This function of trade, although essentially simple, becomes clearer if illustrated by a concrete example. I cite here Professor Heckscher's description of the relation between Europe and America: "Consider the United States at the beginning of the great immigration from Europe. . . . The country was enormously rich in good farm land, but the population was very small. When trade with Europe was made possible on a larger scale through improved communications, it lay in the nature of the situation that exports of products requiring a large area of land should be exchanged for imports of products requiring a large amount of labor. But in America labor was *scarce in such degree* that it was not even sufficient for the cultivation of the land that could advantageously be used for the production of wheat for European export; and even what cultivation did take place was aided by extensive substitution of land for labor—very extensive agriculture, to employ the usual expression. Consequently the price of land was low and wages high in America, as compared with the rest of the world and trade alone was incapable of rectifying this situation." (Heckscher, *op. cit.*, p. 19.)

ize differences between the trading countries, it is, except in cases so rare as to be practically excluded, inadequate to accomplish more than a partial equalization of the differences in prices incident upon an unequal supply of the different factors of production.

At this stage the mobility of the factors of production assumes significance in the analysis. In order to elucidate the nature of the problem, let us for a moment make the unreasonable assumption that all the factors of production are completely mobile.⁷ This assumption would be sufficient to explain the establishment of a universal equilibrium in the prices of the factors of production—a state which Professor Heckscher, from the standpoint of the abstract theory, calls the *harmonic* state of equilibrium. It appears that within certain bounds, trade and the mobility of the factors of production serve the same end—the attaining of equilibrium in the prices of the factors of production. While the mobility of the factors of production should be a sufficient condition for this purpose, trade is not. Actually neither the products nor the factors of production are completely mobile. Both trade and migrations of capital and labor (obviously it is unreasonable to assume that the natural factors are mobile) are impeded by numerous obstacles. For the sake of simplicity it may at first be assumed that goods are completely mobile, inasmuch as no “artificial” hindrances are placed on their exchange.

Economic mobility of the factors of production does not necessarily imply that all are wholly mobile. As long as only one factor is immobile and the others remain mobile, economic equilibrium is nevertheless possible. There is still no need for trade, as the mobile factors could be combined in the proportion necessary for equilibrium. But the natural factor is in reality not of uniform quality; different

⁷ For the sake of simplicity the divisibility of the factors of production is included in the conception of mobility.

soils or different climates are requisite to the production of certain goods.

This dissimilarity is an independent cause of trade and cannot be overcome through the mobility of labor or capital, no matter how complete. But neither capital nor labor is entirely mobile. Mobility varies in different kinds of labor, and the mobility of capital is limited, *inter alia*, by political and other conditions. These two factors, then, are only partly mobile.

Assuming that we have one immobile and two mobile factors, equilibrium is then attained by combining the mobile factors with the immobile, wherever these latter may be located. If one of the mobile factors is not completely mobile, the harmonic state of equilibrium (and consequently the maximum world income, whatever this may be) cannot be attained. In the beginning of the last century the cultivation of new land in America required not only labor but also capital, in order that the worker might enjoy good wages. Railways, schools, roads, and like projects require capital. Land cannot be substituted for capital indefinitely. In Europe, on the other hand, capital can, to a limited extent, be substituted for land, at least as long as trade is expanding. Therefore if America cannot obtain outside capital at the same time that she receives immigrants, wages become so low that the immigrants would gain more by remaining in Europe, where they could profit by a greater supply of capital. Thus the mobility of only *one* factor is in itself not enough to bring about equilibrium. The importance for emigration of the supply of capital in the United States—to a large extent derived from foreign investments—can hardly be overestimated. Had the supply of capital been sufficiently great at an earlier date, it would have been profitable for great masses to emigrate to the United States, but it was not until the opening of the West through railroads and canals that the great stretches

of virgin land became profitable for settlement. The intimate relation between emigration and the importation of capital is in a certain degree illustrated by the following figures for certain South American countries:⁸

PERIOD	BRAZIL		ARGENTINE	
	Year	Number of Immigrants	Year	Number of Immigrants
Before the main influx of capital....	1881-1886	24,000	1881-1884	60,000
Inflation and influx of capital	1887-1898	83,000	1885-1890	142,000
Deflation and little influx of capital....	1899-1905	55,000	1891-1899	91,000

The extent to which the emigration of labor and the international movements of capital will be profitable is thus dependent on the degree of concomitant mobility. Failing such concomitant mobility, the factors of production are localized in such a manner as to counteract the effects of this failure as much as possible.

Attention has already been called to the significance of trade as an alternative for the mobility of the productive factors in equalizing the prices of the latter. As long as trade continues, the need of emigration is correspondingly decreased. In other words, trade makes possible the localization of industry away from the natural resources. The nature of this relation is well shown by a hypothetical case. Should the trade of England be cut off or decreased, through a political crisis, by tariffs, or in some other way, this would mean that the demand for England's exports, which require a relatively great amount of capital and labor for their manufacture, would be diminished, and that wages and the interest on invested capital would sink; unemployment and general depression following.

⁸ Bertil Ohlin, *Handelns Teori* (Stockholm, 1924), p. 109

On the other hand, the prices of such articles as England imported, especially foodstuffs, would increase. In this situation, with the prices of the necessities of life rising, and the prices of the former articles of export falling, agriculture is more profitable than before. But the supply of land is so limited that only with the utmost difficulty, if at all, can it be stretched enough to feed the entire population. The proportion between the different factors would become highly unfavorable and the so-called "law of diminishing returns" would forbid the expansion of agriculture beyond a certain limit.

An opposite tendency, to continue the illustration, is manifested in the countries with which England formerly traded. The prices of agricultural products sink, and agriculture undergoes a crisis. On the other hand, the demand for industrial products increases, leading to a greater demand for labor and capital. It is then profitable for labor and capital to emigrate from England to the countries where the demand is great. This leads to a new localization of the industries of the world.

In such a restriction of trade the country most poorly equipped with immobile factors of production always incurs the greatest risk. Nothing remains but a choice between emigration and want. The result is the same irrespective of the measures adopted for the restriction of trade. It is not certain that a situation of this nature will inevitably lead to emigration—it merely makes emigration more advantageous. Adjustment of the population to a new situation can eventually be brought about through either natural increase or decrease. But for the population whose size must be reduced, this means a transitional period of great hardships. Therefore it may be assumed that in modern nations, where the possibility of emigration is open, or where it is already going on, emigration is the more likely ex-

pedient.⁹ Because trade and the mobility of the factors of production are alternatives, it is possible to influence the localization of industry, and thus the tendency for emigration, through a restrictive trade policy, as expressed in tariff regulations. Just as a country through restriction of international trade may support a greater population than otherwise would be possible, the removal of trade barriers may entail a loss of population.¹⁰

Swedish emigration and tariffs.—The question now arises: What is Sweden's status in this situation? Can it be compared with that of England, or is it more like that of America? Apparently a decisive factor in the ability of a country to profit by alterations in the localization of the world's industry is its supply of natural resources. The country relatively least equipped in this respect is most liable to lose through the restriction of free trade. When emigration began, Sweden was not an industrial country. However paradoxical it may sound when said of a land of ancient culture, her economic life had the character of that in a new country. By far the most important of her industries was agriculture, which underwent a strong quantitative expansion. This monopolized the resources of the

⁹ It is interesting to note that England, whether consciously or unconsciously, acknowledging this fact, has championed free trade, and has sought to maintain dominion over the seas in order to protect her trade routes; while countries like the United States, with the feeling of security based on immense natural resources, have adopted a policy of the strongest protectionism, in accordance with the logic of the situation.

¹⁰ This argument has long been recognized and expressed in such slogans as that the workers wish to "get inside the tariff barriers of other countries." It is also the substance of the famous "Sidgwick Case" (Sidgwick, *Principles*, pp. 497, 498). The classical theory of foreign trade takes little notice of it. Bastable, in his well-known *Principles of International Trade* (London, 1903), p. 162 says: "In fact the probability is that where economic motives are the chief reason for emigration, protection will increase rather than diminish their force. Increased cost of living is not an inducement to the energetic and prudent to remain in the country; that is precisely what protection tends to, and we may therefore assert that the fear of depopulation from free trade is entirely void of practical foundation."

country to such an extent that little was left for industry. When agricultural expansion was retarded, the country's energy was turned to the reclamation of the hitherto "slumbering" natural resources, and the world markets were enriched with Sweden's timber, ore, and other raw materials: later followed exports of manufactured products—matches, separators, telephones, etc.

It cannot be denied that Sweden's type of economic life is more like that of America than it is like the general Western European type. This comparison should perhaps be restricted to certain of the New England States, or Illinois at a later date, rather than applied to the United States as a whole, where the variations in conditions are so much wider, and the possibilities so much greater than in a small country like Sweden. But the basic problems with which the two countries have to contend are surprisingly similar. Both passed through a period of strong dynamic development in agriculture, which constituted the basis of rapid population increase. But naturally such an expansion cannot continue indefinitely. Sooner or later there comes a turning-point, when the cultivation of new land cannot keep pace with the increase of population. In Sweden, as already seen, this occurred about 1860. In the United States it occurred about 1890, with the vanishing of the frontier. But in the United States conditions were so shifting that the turning-point came at different times in different parts of the country. In certain of the New England States it was relatively early. The problem with which these states were confronted was of exactly the same nature as that with which the Swedish agricultural districts had to grapple. The effects of the agrarian revolution were felt in these states as well. Theoretically the solutions were the same. There, as in Sweden, the solution lay in the growth of industry and in migration to the West, waiting with its vast opportunities.

Accordingly a movement to industry and to the West began from these old agricultural districts of the United States. Owing to the political unity of the country, these immensely significant internal migrations have been almost entirely overlooked. But their nature is not essentially different from that of the Swedish emigration to America. The same forces and the same situation that impelled and led up to the migration from the rural districts of the Eastern states also brought about the migration from the rural districts of Sweden. A significant difference is that while in Sweden there was a considerable period during which industrial development was insufficient to take care of the surplus from agriculture, in America industrial development began so early that the transition was little felt by the country as a whole. But these differences are small in comparison with the essential similarity of the two movements.¹¹

In America a decrease in the mobility of goods led to a corresponding demand for the goods the production of which requires relatively more labor. As a rule the "infant industry" argument was advanced quite logically as a reason for tariff protection. Also in Sweden the appeal for protection increased during the period of emigration, resulting in the inauguration of protective tariffs: from almost complete free trade Sweden changed to avowed protectionism. This change was definite in the eighties.¹²

The solution of the problem in Sweden is quite significant, but before discussing it some consideration must be

¹¹ The problem of the United States as a whole can probably be more correctly expressed by saying that unless the growth of industry can be encouraged, immigration must be restricted.

¹² There was one important dissimilarity between the situation in Sweden and in America. In Sweden agriculture suffered from American competition, especially in the grain market. Consequently there arose a demand for tariff protection, in both agriculture and industry. Theoretically the demand was the same in America, but American agriculture is dependent on the prices in the world markets.

taken of the Swedish tariff system. The decided protectionist system that arose in Sweden under the influence of the strong mercantilistic tendencies of the eighteenth century disappeared during the first half of the nineteenth, a development that appears natural when viewed in connection with the general trend of the economic life of the country during this period. Conditions in agriculture were generally favorable during this time. Under the influence of the agricultural depression at the close of the seventies, public opinion changed, and the period from 1880 to the World War was marked by increased protectionism. But agricultural protection was not enough; the rapidly growing industries also claimed their share of protection. An idea of this development of tariffs may be gained from Table 29.

TABLE 29

RELATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF TARIFFS IN SWEDEN, 1882-1913 *

	1882	1888	1892	1895	1897	1906	1911	1913
Industrial products	42	53	83	....	....	91	100	....
Agricultural products .....	....	73	40	92	102	....	....	100

* *Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, Del I, pp. 8, 9.

It is difficult to express the absolute strength of tariffs statistically. The level in Sweden appears to have been somewhat under those of Germany, France, Russia, and the United States, but above those of Norway, Switzerland, and, of course, England.¹³

General tariff protection, such as the Swedish was de-

¹³ The following table (*Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, p. 10) should give an approximate idea of the development:

AVERAGE LEVEL OF TARIFFS IN CERTAIN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, IF THAT OF SWEDEN IS TAKEN AS 100

	Sweden	Norway	Denmark	Germany	Switzerland	France	Russia
1890	100	62	86	118	....	229	338
1913	100	84	51	117	47	205	362

signed to be, is no doubt self-contradictory. If it were possible to protect all industries to the same extent, which possibility practically is excluded, this would only mean a uniform increase in the price level for the country as a whole, without protecting any particular industry.

In reality the protection afforded by the different tariffs must be weighed against each other; to gain a conception of the total effect, the industrial and agrarian tariffs must be considered separately.

TABLE 30

PRICES OF PROPERTY AND LEASES, AS WELL AS AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS
IN SWEDEN AND IN DENMARK *

ANNUAL AVERAGE	SWEDEN			DENMARK	
	Property Prices	Land Leases	Price of Agricultural Products**	Property Prices	Price of Agricultural Products**
1876-1881	100	100	100	100	100
1882-1890	91	101	89	95	90
1891-1899	92	107	90	84	84
1900-1908	110	113	105	89	89
1909-1914	130	131	116	117	98

* *Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, p. 208.

** Average for vegetable and animal products, the former category including wheat, rye, barley, and oats, and the latter, beef, pork, and butter.

In discussing the effects of agrarian tariffs, two different tendencies must be distinguished. One involves the direct gains from tariff protection; the other the costs incurred through the increase in the prices of the protected products that agriculture must purchase. The result of agricultural protection is reflected in the price of grain. This in turn contributes towards increasing land values, especially where conditions are favorable for grain growing. The importance of tariff protection is in a certain degree illustrated by a comparison between the Swedish development and the Danish, which has proceeded independently of tariff pro-

tection. It appears that the drop in land values during the nineties was relatively greater in Denmark than in Sweden.

Since 1900 the curves for the two countries have shown a parallel development, but in Sweden a deviation occurs at the beginning of the period of tariff protection. It can hardly be denied that the agriculturist in the capacity of landowner gained through the tariffs, but lost in the capacity of consumer. No certain calculations can be made of these losses and gains. In the report of the Committee on Tariffs and Treaties, calculations of this nature are undertaken, and the results here presented from this report will undoubtedly give an approximately correct picture.

The result of the calculations shows that if the protective tariff on grain is figured as extending over the entire net harvest, the protection for agriculture per se should have been positive for farms of more than two hectares in Southern Sweden, and farms of more than five hectares in area in Central Sweden. On account of the meager cultivation of grain in Norrland, the protection there must everywhere have been strongly negative.

The second part of the investigation here made has aimed to determine whether or not the total positive or negative economic status of agriculture can be considered appreciably affected by protective tariffs. The results of the calculations on this point, which to be sure are more uncertain than the former ones, show that a positive advantage should have accrued to large and medium agriculturists in Southern Sweden (with farms down to thirty hectares), as well as to larger agriculturists in Central Sweden (with farms over 100 hectares), while for all the remaining agriculturists the burden of the tariff system should have overbalanced the advantages; the proportion increasing with decreasing size of farm. For the smallest group [of farms] (one to two hectares) the tariff burden probably averaged almost seventy Swedish crowns per hectare.

A calculation of the total amount of the net tariff burden, calculated as above, for the agriculturists of the country in their combined character of producer and consumer, for the country as a whole, including Norrland, gives an annual sum of about thirty-six million crowns. This is thus an approximate expression of what tariff protection has cost agriculture in comparison with conditions under free trade.¹⁴

¹⁴ *Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, Del. I, p. 108.

This result is only what might be expected. The big farms having large quantities of grain to sell, profit by the higher prices resulting from the tariffs; while for the smaller farms, having smaller quantities of grain to sell, this gain does not suffice to counterbalance the losses incurred by the owners in their character of consumers. As the larger farms, which profit by the tariffs, recruit emigration only to a minor extent, and the smaller farms, from which the main current of emigration streams, suffer a loss, it must be concluded that if the tariffs have not directly increased emigration—a difficult point to prove—they could hardly have decreased migration from agriculture to other industries. In this case general tariff protection has obviously favored other industries relatively more than agriculture.

The next question that arises is how tariffs have influenced industrial development,¹⁵ how they have affected the localization of industry, and whether they have attracted to Sweden industries that otherwise would have been localized abroad. The answer depends chiefly on the relation between the supply of natural resources and other means of production, and the degree to which tariffs have been able to attract or retain capital in Sweden.¹⁶ The attrac-

¹⁵ It is of course a truism that under static conditions tariffs decrease that hazily defined "maximum world income," which is attained only under complete mobility of goods and factors of production. But it cannot be said in advance that the distribution of industries effected under the influence of tariffs brings about a lower "national income" for a given country. Quoting from the Report of the minority of the Committee on Tariffs and Treaties: "The economic doctrine stating that the profits of industry as a whole are greatest under free trade obviously implies only that the sum of individual profits attains a temporary maximum. But if a part of the profit is placed abroad, and a part of the population emigrates, and this continues year after year, it is by no means certain that the national income can in the long run be maintained under a system of free trade" (p. 321).

¹⁶ This applies to the United States as well as to Sweden. Prior to the World War both countries had a high rate of interest and consequently attracted foreign capital. But since the war this situation has

tion of capital to Sweden is essential to the rapid expansion of its industry and to higher wages.

If the tariffs had tended to attract industry, this would have been evidenced in a transition from the industries engaged in the extraction of raw materials, such as lumbering and mining, to those manufacturing finished products, as well as those dependent entirely on the local market.

Attention should therefore be given to the relative development of these different branches of industry after the introduction of protective tariffs. The general impetus given industry after the nineties is aptly illustrated by the number of workers employed in industry at different times, as shown in Table 31.

TABLE 31

NUMBER OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRY AND MINING*

YEAR	NO.	PER CENT OF INCREASE
1880	145,000	.....
1890	210,000	44.8
1900	335,000	59.5
1910	400,000	19.4

* *Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, p. 76.

The principal increase occurs during the nineties, when the number of workers employed increased by about 60 per cent, as compared with 45 per cent in the foregoing decade and only 19 per cent in the following decade. The same picture is given by any other industrial index one may choose to consult.¹⁷

The growth of Swedish industry is even more rapid than been reversed; both countries now export capital. This constitutes a further proof of the similarity of the economic types of the two countries.

¹⁷ The consumption of coal is a good measure of industrial growth; possibly less so in Sweden than in other countries on account of more extensive use of water power. Nevertheless, the per capita consumption of coal increased from 280 kg. to 450 kg. during the nineties.

that of Europe in general. If calculated cumulatively, the industrial population of Sweden increased 2.08 per cent during the period from 1880 to 1910. The annual increase in the English and Danish industrial populations amounted to 0.39 per cent and 0.15 per cent, respectively, during the period from 1881 to 1911. The German annual increase was 0.73 per cent during the period from 1882 to 1907.¹⁸

A calculation of the net tariff protection for industry, such as that given for agriculture is almost impossible, owing to the great variations in industrial conditions.¹⁹ But if the total loss to agriculture resulting from tariffs is considered, it seems natural that a corresponding gain should accrue to industry; this is corroborated by the calculation made by the Committee on Tariffs and Treaties.²⁰ The relative gains and losses due to tariffs are, however, not uniformly distributed in the different branches of industry, and certain industries profit relatively more by protection than others. The degree in which a particular branch of industry influences emigration is dependent on its relative demand for labor.

¹⁸ The absolute percentages represented by the industrial populations of the several countries at different times are shown below:

THE INDUSTRIAL POPULATION IN PER CENT OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

	1880	1881	1882	1890	1891	1895	1900	1901	1907	1910	1911
England	56.1	.....	.....	56.9	.....	.....	58.3	.....	.....	58.6
Denmark	26.0	.....	.....	27.9	.....	.....	29.5	.....	.....	29.2
Germany	33.7	.....	.....	37.4	.....	.....	40.4	.....	.....
Sweden	17.4	.....	22.1	.....	.....	28.2	.....	.....	32.3	.....

(*Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, Del I, p. 75)

¹⁹ *Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, Del I, p. 109.

²⁰ "The sum of the three items calculated [of the tariff burden of industry] amounts to 33.2 million crowns, of which the total annual burden falls on the tariff industries. As opposed to this, the total tariff income for these industries amounts probably to over 100 million crowns. Since the net burden for agriculturists should amount to about 36 million crowns, the calculation shows that in a comparison between the significance of the tariff system for agriculture and for industry as a whole, a decided surplus falls to the latter." (*Ibid.*, p. 10.)

The report of the Committee on Tariffs and Treaties classifies Swedish industry as follows:

1. Industries actively protected by tariffs, but without appreciable exports (non-exporting tariff industries).

2. Industries that likewise are apparently actively protected by tariffs, but that nevertheless have developed important exports, amounting to between 20 and 50 per cent of the pre-war production (exporting tariff industries).

3. Industries with more than 50 per cent of their production dependent on exports, and for which eventual tariff protection has been of slight or no importance (export industries).

4. Domestic industries whose markets are almost entirely local, or which are not appreciably influenced by foreign competition (local industries).

For each of these groups calculations have been made of the number of workers employed, with the following results.

TABLE 32

AVERAGE NUMBER, IN THOUSANDS, OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY FROM 1896 TO 1897 AND IN 1913 *

	No.		PER CENT		PER CENT INCREASE	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF INCREASE
	1896-1897	1913	1896-1897	1913		
Non-exporting tariff industries.....	82	119	34	34	46	33
Exporting tariff industries.....	32	60	13	17	87	24
Export industries	99	136	42	38	37	33
Local industries	26	38	11	11	46	10
Total	239	353	100	100	48	100

* *Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande, Del I, p. 82.*

The greatest absolute increase in the number of workers has taken place in the protected industries; they absorbed

57 per cent of the increase between 1896 and 1897 and 1913. The greatest relative increase occurs in the exporting tariff industries, which augment their personnel by 87 per cent. The local industries and non-exporting tariff industries increase equally, by about 46 per cent. The smallest relative increase, although representing a very large absolute increase, is in the export industries, which increase only 37 per cent.

While the non-exporting tariff industries and the local industries increase at about the same rate, corresponding to the general rate of increase on industry as a whole, the relative importance of the export industries is decreased and the relative importance of the exporting tariff industries is greatly increased. During this period of protection, industry undergoes a change, in that exports comprise more and more manufactured products, while the relative significance of the export of raw materials decreases.²¹

Certain conclusions seem obvious from the material presented. First, the material shows that since the nineties Swedish industry has grown more rapidly than that of Europe in general. Second, that the most remarkable feature has been the growth of the protected export industries; i.e., those which, under the protection of tariffs, have grown to such strength that they can successfully compete in the world market. This development is of course dependent on numerous circumstances: the natural economic qualifications, technical innovations—as in the manufacture of paper-pulp, and important inventions such as the separator, the ballbearing, and safety matches, which laid the foundation of the modern mechanical industry of Sweden. But no doubt the tariff system was an important factor in this development, for through the tariffs the relative scarcity of labor has been increased. Natural resources were already at hand, and through the diminished mobility of

²¹ Cf. *Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, Del I, p. 201.

products, capital, with its greater mobility, has sought the less mobile factors of production, and production has been profitably located nearer the sources of raw material.

A further point must be considered before closing this study of the effect of tariffs on industrial development in its relation to emigration, namely, the relative demand for labor in the different branches of industry. Certain probabilities may *a priori* be pointed out.

The manufacturing industries by nature demand relatively more labor (and capital) than the industries extracting raw materials. Obviously more labor is required for paper manufacturing than for logging. The same parallel might be applied to nearly every industry included in the above groups. Unfortunately it is impossible to express this relation statistically.²²

It can hardly be denied, however, that owing to the tariffs, the tendency of industry to employ more labor (and capital) relative to natural resources has probably developed more rapidly than otherwise. Especially in the non-exporting tariff industries this tendency has presumably implied a decrease in productivity. This loss would likely be borne partly by the natural resources, whose relative price decreases, and partly by a general decrease in the income per capita. Nevertheless, the rise of exports in the protected industries shows that under protection industries have

²² The exporting tariff industries ordinarily demand relatively more of both labor and capital than of natural resources; consequently a table showing only the relation between the costs of labor and capital is of secondary interest. Below are given, however, the results of a calculation of the latter relation, made by the Committee on Tariffs and Treaties.

COSTS OF LABOR AND CAPITAL IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES

(Wages paid in percentage of invested capital, calculated at 6 per cent of the value of equipment and stocks)

Non-exporting tariff industries.....	261
Exporting tariff industries.....	378
Export industries	324
Local industries	279
All industries	300

(*Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande, Del I, p. 98*)

grown to such a strength as to justify their continuance under free trade. In so far as this growth is dependent on the tariffs, Sweden has attracted a greater share of the world's industry than otherwise. In proportion as this holds true, the tariff does not mean lowered productivity.²³

These circumstances constitute the basis upon which conclusions must be founded concerning the probable effect of tariffs upon emigration. It has repeatedly been observed that one of the central points in the emigration problem lies in the growth of industry. Owing to the pressing need of rapid expansion, brought about through the rapid growth of population, it is necessary that labor be absorbed at a rate corresponding to the demands of the rising standard of living. If it is true, as the foregoing tends to show, that the tariffs have facilitated the rise of industrial branches requiring relatively more labor (and capital) than the older ones, it is consequently probable that the tariffs have contributed in the case of Sweden towards decreasing the "need" of emigration. In this situation it is a matter of indifference whether or not the new tendency of industry has caused a relatively lower compensation for owners of forests and mines and other natural resources (since members of this class are unlikely to emigrate) or, as is highly probable, that industries have been localized in Sweden that otherwise could with equal advantage have been localized in other countries. In this connection it is hardly possible to discuss *all* the tariffs in detail. The effects of the Swedish agrarian and industrial tariffs are different. Neither do the tariffs of foreign countries bring similar tendencies into

²³ In the above, consideration has been taken almost exclusively of the trade between Sweden and the United States, as illustrative of the broader relation between Europe and America. But actually this relation is determined by the totality of foreign trade. Germany's commercial policy, for example, plays a greater rôle in the development of Sweden than that of America. This circumstance is so self-evident that it hardly requires comment. The solution of the problem of several trading nations is theoretically analogous to that of two nations.

play. Nor is it possible to estimate numerically the importance of the various tendencies; their influence must be ascertained *in casu*. What has here been considered is only the significance of the Swedish import tariffs.²⁴

Summary.—The most significant of the frictional or retarding factors in emigration is the absorptive capacity of industry. The factors determining industrial growth are therefore of great importance for an understanding of emigration. Essentially the problem is one of effecting sufficiently rapid development to absorb a rapidly growing and exacting population. Among the factors that influence the growth of industry, commercial policies, particularly as to tariffs, which were motivated by a desire to protect the working class, occupy a conspicuous place. The opening theoretical discussion aimed to show the relation between trade and the mobility of the factors of production, and it was found that these two phenomena are alternative expedients, both capable of equalizing the prices of the different factors of production in the regions exchanging goods and productive factors. A limitation of the trade between two countries, such as that effected by tariffs, tends to increase the disparity in the prices of the factors of production, and in so far as the disparity in wages underlies

²⁴ The importance of tariffs as they may bear upon the volume of emigration is in a certain degree illustrated by the following table. If the emigration per hundred thousand inhabitants of England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark, which are free trade countries in comparison with Sweden, is taken as 100, the following figures are obtained for Sweden and Germany:

	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1908
Sweden	120	116	76
Germany	49	28	8

(*Tull och traktat kommittens betänkande*, Del I, p. 326)

It is surprising what a rapid decrease has occurred in the relative strength of emigration in the protected countries. Naturally tariffs do not hinder emigration in countries where qualifications for industrial life are absent. The contrary is more likely the case, as exemplified in certain Southern European countries or in Russia.

emigration, tends to increase this movement. Further, it proved impossible to generalize a priori as to the direction in which this movement would proceed. From the economic point of view the tendency of this movement in a given instance is dependent on the relative supply of immobile factors of production—ordinarily, natural resources—in the countries involved. If trade is restricted it becomes correspondingly profitable for the mobile factors to seek the immobile. In the analysis it was shown that Sweden and the United States displayed great similarity, in that both were richly provided with natural resources. Whereas the United States has adhered principally to a policy of industrial protectionism, Sweden has attempted to introduce a system affording protection to both agriculture and industry. This proved practically impossible, and the total result of the protection was a burden for agriculture, since the increase in the prices of industrial products exceeded the profit from the protection of grain. It cannot be denied that industry derives a positive advantage from the tariffs. Although it is impossible to demonstrate this relation quantitatively, there occurs what might theoretically be expected: the manufacturing industries, employing relatively much labor, grow at the expense of the industries extracting raw materials, and requiring relatively less labor. In other words, the mobile factors of production, labor and capital, tend to become localized in the proximity of the immobile. Thus it is probable that a relatively greater share of the world's industry is localized in Sweden than would have been the case under free trade.

In proportion as this has been the effect of tariffs, they have contributed towards decreasing the "need" of emigration, at least to the extent that the absorptive capacity of industry is decisive for emigration.

CHAPTER X

THE SELECTION OF EMIGRANTS

In spite of the difference between venturing out upon the Atlantic in frail sailing ships and being safely transported in the steerage of a giant liner, emigrants as a class are often regarded with some of the admiration given to the Pilgrim Fathers. The very fact of emigration is believed to single a man out as superior to his fellowmen. As Mayo-Smith says:

When emigration is brought about by the free action of man's own mind, without extraneous aid or influences, it is naturally the men who have intelligence, some financial resources, energy, and ambition, that emigrate. It requires all these to break loose from the ties of kindred, of neighborhood and of country, and to start out on a long and difficult journey. Voluntary emigration, as was pointed out by Rogers some years ago, would naturally expatriate the cream of the working class.¹

When emigrants have to overcome such hardships as those encountered by the early pioneers, this is undoubtedly correct. Only a group above the average could have the courage and enterprise to emigrate and the stamina to survive frontier life in America. But even so, it is clear that the selective process did not result in a uniform character among the emigrants. It would be difficult to find any important emigration that does not include persons of an undesirable type—paupers, criminals, adventurers, and ne'er-do-wells. It would indeed be strange if a movement so complex as emigration, arising from such a multiplicity of motives, did not also include a wide assortment of human types.

¹ R. Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration* (New York, 1890), p. 27.

Nevertheless it is permissible to make certain generalizations regarding the character of the majority of the emigrants at a given time. As to the Swedish emigrants, the above observation of Mayo-Smith is applicable prior to 1860. But this early phase represents only a very small part of the total emigration. In fact the most important feature of the later emigration is that it was a mass movement, which swept the country like an epidemic. The very conception of a mass movement is opposed to that of uniformity in the character and capability of the participants. If the individual follows the tradition of his group and is gripped by mass suggestion and pressure—the America Fever—his reasoning powers are thrown out of function. He is attracted by an ideal that bears the name of America, but has materialized in Swedish America.

“It is not then the facts themselves that strike the popular imagination, but the way in which they take place and are brought under notice. It is necessary that by their condensation, if I may thus express myself, they should produce a startling image, which fills and besets the mind.”²

Le Bon's description of the way in which the crowd is stirred into action is strikingly illustrated in emigration. Infected with the America Fever, struck by the “startling image” of America, the just and unjust alike are filled with the desire to emigrate; the fact that a person is receptive to this mass suggestion is not in itself an indication of superior character; superior qualities are not requisite for participation in mass emigration. In chapter iii on the organization or pattern of mass emigration it was shown how simple such a movement actually may become. The improvement of communications and the organization of Swedish communities in America neutralized the most important frictional factors of emigration; resistance was lessened, and the movement thenceforth required correspondingly fewer

² Gustave le Bon, *The Crowd* (London, 1903), p. 79.

of the qualities that had been essential to the success of the pioneer emigrants. The selection of emigrants is thus more socially than individually determined; consequently, it is impossible, on the basis of the act of emigration as such, to draw definite conclusions regarding the character of the individual participant.

In previous chapters an attempt has been made to show how emigration arose as a mass movement. Attention has also been turned to the problem of the classes that are most receptive to emigration. Before concluding the discussion of the agrarian emigration, however, the selection of emigrants within these classes must be treated in greater detail, in order to throw more light upon the character of the emigrants. Unfortunately our knowledge of the factors determining selection is such that the result attained is negative rather than positive. The selective process has, however, two different aspects. One of these is determined by conditions in America and the act of emigration itself; the other by conditions in Sweden, social stratification, the economic situation, and the traditions, customs, and views of different groups.

Certain qualifications are essential if the emigrant is to succeed in America. These are not many, nor are they of a complicated nature. The most important is ability and readiness for hard work, combined with a certain flexibility of character and adaptability to new circumstances. This results in a simple selection, which excludes those who are physically unfit or disabled. Even if they are able to pass Ellis Island, such persons can expect but little from America. This selection works for the most part to the advantage of America, since the emigrants admitted are physically above rather than below the average for the group from which they come.

Distribution of emigrants by age.—Since both ability to work and flexibility of character are prime requisites for the

emigrant, and these qualities are especially those of youth, emigration is recruited chiefly from the lower age groups. Persons of younger years are not so much restrained by family ties, nor have they become firmly rooted in a certain environment; accordingly they are more susceptible to the attraction of America. Table 33 makes this apparent.

TABLE 33

RELATIVE EMIGRATION BY AGE GROUPS, 1851-1900
(Emigration for Entire Population Taken as 100)

AGE GROUP	RELATIVE EMIGRATION
15-20	184
20-25	350
25-30	223
30-35	123

Taking the emigration for the entire population as 100, the emigration from the age group from 20 to 25 years amounts to 350. The total emigration between 1861 and 1908 is 1,100,000 persons, 760,000 of whom were between 15 and 35, and 186,000 under 15 years of age. The number of persons over 35 years is 153,000, of whom no less than 88,000 were under 45 years of age. Thus the number over 45 years is not more than approximately 65,000 persons, or 6 per cent of the total emigration. Since a large proportion of the older participants were parents and relatives sent for by those already emigrated, it is evident that persons of advanced years played an extremely small part in independent emigration.

As the result of this first rough selection, which must be regarded as a counterselection from the standpoint of the emigration country, emigration came to be made up largely of healthy, able-bodied persons in the prime of life.

Marital status of emigrants.—It is also important to observe that the early emigration was largely comprised of whole families. During the decade from 1851 to 1860

married persons and children constituted 61 per cent of the total emigration. This was natural in the light of conditions in the West, since a family affording both labor and companionship was of inestimable value to the emigrant planning to take up a homestead. As conditions became more settled and a greater proportion of emigrants entered non-agricultural occupations, a family became somewhat of a handicap, and emigration was more and more frequently undertaken by single persons. Thus the proportion of unmarried persons steadily increases until in the period from 1901-1908 family emigration amounts to only 28 per cent of the total. The balance is divided between unmarried men and unmarried women.

In family emigration the distribution of the sexes may be considered relatively equal, but as family emigration decreases the distribution of unmarried men and unmarried women assumes new interest. In pioneer days in America single women had to combat great difficulties; this decreased their relative participation in emigration. When the demand for Swedish servant-girls began to increase in America, these difficulties were lessened, and, chiefly because of the bright prospects offered such girls in American families, the proportion of unmarried females shows a steady increase, as consideration of Table 34 makes apparent.

TABLE 34

COMPOSITION OF EMIGRATION WITH RESPECT TO MARITAL STATUS*

YEAR	MARRIED PERSONS AND CHILDREN	UNMARRIED ADULT MALES	UNMARRIED ADULT FEMALES
1851-1860	60.08	27.31	12.61
1861-1870	45.13	34.87	20.00
1871-1880	36.68	37.14	26.18
1881-1890	35.51	36.49	28.00
1891-1900	30.02	35.33	34.65
1901-1908	27.70	41.02	31.28

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 166.

The trend becomes even clearer when stated as in Table 35.

TABLE 35
UNMARRIED EMIGRANT FEMALES PER 1,000 UNMARRIED
EMIGRANT MALES*

YEAR	RATIO
1851-1860	462
1861-1870	574
1871-1880	705
1881-1890	767
1891-1900	981
1901-1908	763

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 166.

Whereas from 1851 to 1860, 462 unmarried females emigrated for every 1,000 unmarried males, i.e., more than two men for every woman, during the nineties a maximum was reached of 981 females per 1,000 males.³

Social status and character of emigrants.—Whereas the age and physical qualifications, and, to a less extent, the sex distribution of the emigrants were determined principally by the demands of life in America, the further selection was largely dependent on conditions in Sweden. Emigration removes chiefly the surplus youth. This "surplus" is of course a relative conception, but if the requirements as to standard

³ The importance of this increase in the emigration of unmarried females is not so clearly shown in the total relation between the sexes in emigration. Especially in early times the frequent occurrence of family emigration made the proportion between the sexes more uniform than is shown by the above figures, which refer only to the emigration of unmarried persons. To complete this picture the total participation of women in emigration is shown in the following table.

NUMBER OF WOMEN PER 1,000 MEN

YEAR	RATIO
1851-1860	739
1861-1870	736
1871-1880	800
1881-1890	818
1891-1900	970
1901-1908	801

(*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 166)

of living and wages are taken as constant, it is impossible for a limited area to sustain more than a certain number of persons. Whether or not an individual will be able to find occupation in agriculture is dependent principally on social and economic conditions. It is no doubt true that in the majority of cases persons belonging to the landowning class will assume control of the existing agriculture. There is no reason to believe that the group thus singled out is less capable than the population as a whole—the opposite is more likely. Aside from the question of inherent ability, the peasantry proper have greater opportunities to give their children a good education, to feed and clothe them better, and, on the whole, to afford them better opportunities for personal development. At the age of maturity this should be evidenced in greater knowledge and self-reliance.⁴

Even if one does not go so far as to assume that they constitute a superior group, there is decidedly less reason to assume that the contrary is true. It has already been

⁴ The importance of upbringing for enterprise and ability has, surprisingly enough, often been emphasized by Swedish Americans. A typical instance of this method of reasoning is furnished by a successful farmer in the Red River Valley. This man was the most prosperous member of a Swedish settlement. At an early age he had bought large stretches of railroad property, so that now he owns several thousand acres. In the early seventies the emigrants in the vicinity were all almost equally poor. Now, after almost sixty years, there are considerable differences. I asked what circumstances he believed to be responsible for this change. "Well," he answered, "most people never dare depend on themselves or on their own judgment or ability." The differences in this respect, he thought, were explained largely by the different backgrounds in Sweden. The sons of *torpare* and others of the same standing were entirely satisfied with moderate success, while he and some of the others, who sprang from the peasantry proper, had aimed higher, and because of their greater self-confidence had been willing to risk more, relying on their own judgment for guidance.

Naturally it is difficult to say to what extent this explanation is correct. I have, however, heard much the same conclusions drawn in other places and for several different branches of activity. In any case the significance of the emigrant's background for his success under new conditions is a factor that has not been given sufficient attention or awarded the place it deserves.

pointed out that emigration decimates chiefly the lower, unlanded classes. This is borne out by the distribution of the emigrants according to occupation. Although the statistics are defective, Table 36 shows the groups belonging to agriculture. Even though the status of the group "Without Definite Occupation" is dubious, since it may include workers outside of agriculture, this is compensated for by the omission of the group "Other Occupations," which may include persons coming from agriculture.

TABLE 36
AGRICULTURAL EMIGRATION, 1851-1908*

Agriculture	284,167
<i>Inhyres- och backstugehjon</i>	21,377
Without definite occupation	219,006
<i>Tjänstehjon</i>	278,425
Total	802,975

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 236.

Of these groups, all except the first, "Agriculture," must be counted among the lower agricultural classes. This first group includes, however, in addition to farm owners and their wives, a large number of sons and sons-in-law living at home, who in many cases would have been forced into the lower classes if they had remained in Sweden, especially where the parents were relatively less well situated. The groups included in the following table would in the earlier classification probably have been embraced by the group "Agriculture."

TABLE 37
EMIGRATION OF CERTAIN AGRARIAN GROUPS, 1903-1907*

Estate-owners	19
Peasantry proper	1,954
Children and sons-in-law of peasantry proper....	20,122
Tenants	317
Children and sons-in-law of tenants.....	1,532

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 228.

It should be observed that in the peasantry proper the emigration of sons and sons-in-law living at home is ten times as great as the emigration of the actual owners. Thus if the emigration from the group "Agriculture" consisted of actually unlanded persons, it follows that over 660,000 of the emigrants from agriculture belong to the non-landed classes, or in other words, that over 80 per cent of the total agricultural emigration is included in this category.

The group of prospective emigrants is thus restricted through economic and social conditions to a class which, if not inherently inferior, in any case has a comparatively unfavorable social environment. The question now arises how the further selection in this group is effected.

The possibility remains that those who emigrate are the best qualified within the emigrating group. An objective answer to this question is hardly possible. All that can be done is to elucidate the actual possibilities involved and let this serve as answer. If the emigrant's choice lay simply between emigrating to America and sinking into misery, it is likely that only persons lacking in enterprise and foresight would remain at home.⁵ There would be every reason to believe that this group would be subjected to a counter-selection, as only the indifferent and unenterprising would be left behind. If only the agricultural districts are included, this probably corresponds with reality.⁶ On the whole

⁵ It might be objected that those who lacked financial resources might also be prevented from emigrating, disregarding the fact of their ability or ambition. That the lack of resources alone would not be an effective frictional factor to prevent emigration was clearly suggested in another connection. Cf. chap. iii.

⁶ Complaints are often heard that the quality of the wage-earning class in agriculture has been impaired through emigration. "Since the best labor goes into industry or migrates to places where wages are temporarily higher, there is generally little left for the needs of agriculture," is a typical and frequently recurring expression. ("Hushållningssällskapet för Kopparbergs län." *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 697.) One might recall here the comparison with New England, where the same complaint was heard.

the most capable among the lower agricultural classes have left their homes, and the unenterprising and incompetent have been contented with a dependent position and low wages, even though greater profits seemed forthcoming elsewhere in Sweden or in America.

But, as has already been emphasized, emigration to America was not the only recourse. Another, of equal importance, was offered through the growth of industry in Sweden, giving the emigrant a choice between two alternatives. In most studies of migrations no consideration is given to these alternatives. It is assumed, with or without due reflection, that greater ability, courage, and enterprise were required to journey to America than to travel to Stockholm or some other Swedish city.

A certain light is thrown on the nature of these two movements by considering the respective qualifications for success in America and in Swedish industry. Since time immemorial the peasantry had been accustomed to regard the soil as the natural source of livelihood. They were educated and trained exclusively with a view to entering this occupation; success and prosperity were measured by the possession of land. Once pioneering had become common it offered nothing new or intimidating. The peasantry's ambitions and outlook in life were wholly agrarian.⁷

⁷ It should be noted in passing that in many respects the differentiation between the classes in agriculture had not gone so far in Sweden as on the Continent. Not until relatively late did the lower class formations arise in Swedish agriculture. These classes lived under dynamic conditions, and in most respects inherited the views and ambitions of the original peasantry. Both the conditions under which they lived and the fact that they were new classes probably were responsible for their not having developed a psychology like that which the lower agricultural classes of the Continent have acquired over a period of centuries. Despite the growing difference between the classes in Sweden, their views and ideals had not yet become stationary. The fact that these classes in many respects retained the older psychology of the peasantry contributes towards their readiness to emigrate, since they never have entirely abandoned the old peasant ideal of independence.

Owing to continued emigration, part of the old organization of the peasant class was transferred to America. Instead of reclaiming land in and around the old centers of cultivation, instead of draining and cultivating swamps, the lower classes transferred their activities to the American West, without being compelled to readjust their views and customs, in the deeper sense. The pattern of life remained essentially unchanged. In confirmation of this may be advanced the almost incredible ease with which the Swedish agricultural population adjusted itself to American conditions.

On the other hand, if the worker went to a Swedish city, it was necessary for him to revise fundamentally his entire mode of living. Instead of a farmer he became an industrial worker and had to fulfil the requirements of the industrial system. Conditions in Stockholm or the other big cities were in fact more foreign to him than those in the agricultural districts of Swedish America. In this former case he had to change neither his country nor his language; nevertheless he was forced to sever his connections with the old traditions. Moreover, competition for work in Swedish industry was keen, on account of the great number of workers streaming in from agriculture.

The question inevitably arises: Which demanded the greater courage—to follow the well-worn path to America, where a continuation of the old life awaited, under conditions that must have seemed fabulous to land-hungry *torpare* or *backstugesittare*, or to enter the hard, unromantic struggle against competition in Swedish industry? It seems surprising that the internal migration attained such scope as it actually did, if one stops to consider the fundamental readjustment necessary in views and customs that this demanded, as compared with emigration to America. That so many actually did remain in Sweden must be explained chiefly by a desire to remain there; the element of knowledge

can here be disregarded, since information concerning America had become common property.

Anyone who knows the Swedish emigrant can testify that a sentimental longing for the *fosterland* often persisted for a long time. The classes among whom the desire to remain in Sweden is strongest are likely to be the first to try to gain a livelihood at home, and not depart for America until all these possibilities are exhausted. The more general this desire, the greater is the latitude allowed Swedish industry in the selection of workers, and the more probable it becomes that the economically most capable workers will remain, since the decision to remain at home and relinquish the bright prospects of America requires a high degree of courage, and to succeed in spite of hard competition requires comparatively great ability. One may doubt the wisdom of such a course, but it seems hardly consistent to assume that those who because of genuine love for their country—whether misdirected or not—choose this expedient, by so doing are giving evidence of less courage, ability, or power of judgment.⁸

But as a rule the selection is hardly determined in this manner. The decision to emigrate is usually based not so much on rational motives as on the folkways of a certain group. The rise of a tradition of emigration does not per se imply that one group differs from another. It is likely that the emigrants comprise a cross-section of the population rather than a selected group.

Where the custom of migrating to the cities has become prevalent as a solution of the surplus problem, the situation

⁸ Whatever the part played by sentimental motives in the selection of emigrants, observations not infrequently show that those who remained were considered the most able. The following description from Östergötlands län is typical: "It cannot be denied that the supply of labor in agriculture has become scarce. But the reason for this is probably not so much emigration as it is our *progressing industry, which with its superior competition attracts our most capable workers*" [*italics mine*]. ("Östergötlands län Hushållningssällskap," *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 693.)

is somewhat different. Earlier in this study it was shown that the absorptive capacity of the cities was not unlimited.⁹ When emigration to the cities exceeded certain limits, part of the stream continued on to America. The question is how this stream was divided between Sweden and America. It seems probable that the most able were the first to obtain employment and the last to be laid off when business was slack. The more capable and enterprising usually were able to make their own way, and those who failed to succeed resorted to the simple expedient of emigrating to America. This is in some measure confirmed by the fact that while emigration was going on, the portion of the population remaining at home exhibited a large number of persons who attained prosperity or distinction in administrative or scientific fields.¹⁰

Summary.—The conception of emigration as an heroic act, or as an act demanding ability and courage above the average, has no foundation in fact after emigration assumes the character of a mass movement. The frictional factors in emigration have been so far diminished that all the individual need do is, figuratively speaking, flow with the stream until he finds himself in America. The selection of emigrants is determined chiefly by social factors, if exception is made for the qualifications set by emigration with regard to certain physical standards, which are especially prevalent in youth. The selection of emigrants from among

⁹ Cf. esp. chap. vi.

¹⁰ With this may be compared the relatively stable social and economic nature of Swedish America. To be sure, many individuals have risen from the class to which they originally belonged, but until the recent powerful city ward movement, the majority were completely satisfied with a secure position: farmers among farmers, laborers among laborers. A surprisingly large number of distinguished Swedish Americans have either received their higher education in Sweden or belong to a family which in Sweden already occupied or had occupied a good or improving social position. An example of the former is John Ericsson; of the latter Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, whose grandfather belonged to an old and respected peasant family in Sweden.

the peasantry is primarily determined by the distribution of ownership. The greatest part of emigration is made up of the children of relatively poor parents. A further selection occurs within this class. Two movements arise: one to America and one to the cities. On the whole, emigration follows the one or the other tendency according to the traditions or customs of different groups or districts. So far as this is true, there is no reason to assume that the selection of emigrants should follow any definite trend, and it must be assumed that emigration represents a fair cross-section of the emigrating group, with good, bad, and indifferent characters intermingled.

In some cases—it is impossible to say how many—the desire to remain in Sweden must be taken into consideration. The more widespread this desire, the more the selection appears to work to the advantage of Sweden. Those governed by this desire are naturally inclined to seek employment first in Sweden. It is very probable that relatively more courage is required to take up the hard competition in a strange field in Sweden than to take advantage of what in any case are regarded as the unlimited possibilities of America. Moreover, it appears most likely that as the result of this competition the most capable succeed in rising socially or economically, or in any event in gaining the best livelihood within their own class. Thus the least capable are forced out in this competition, and compelled to emigrate.

Consequently it may be concluded: first, that emigration affects groups that at the time of emigration are below the average of the population in education and technical training; second, that within these groups certain forces are at work to keep the most capable in Sweden. If it cannot be said positively that the emigrants are below the average for the emigrating group, it can be said that there is no reason for assuming that the opposite is the case.

CHAPTER XI

THE INDUSTRIAL EMIGRATION

Industrial emigration defined.—The term *industrial emigration*, as here used, designates the movement of Swedish industrial labor to America. A part of the agrarian emigrants enter industry in America, although the great majority seek employment in agriculture. Likewise a part of the emigration from Swedish industry enters into agriculture; but that an increasing number enter industrial occupations in America is shown by the growing numbers of Swedish emigrants going to the industrial centers in the eastern part of the United States and to Chicago, Minneapolis, and St. Paul in the Middle West. Accordingly, this minority entering agriculture is omitted here, and attention is focused on the movement from Swedish to American industry.

It is not possible to determine exactly the scope of this movement, but some idea of its magnitude may be gained from the calculations already presented concerning the strength of the agrarian and industrial emigrations.¹ According to these figures, the agrarian emigration between 1851 and 1920 amounted to over 800,000 persons, while the industrial did not exceed 250,000 persons.² But the relative importance of the latter movement increased rapidly. Whereas during the 1850's it comprised only a fifth

¹ See chap. iv.

² It should be observed that the absolute figures are too low, as the group "Unclassified Occupations" [*Övriga ej upptagna yrken*] has been omitted, owing to the impossibility of determining its distribution between agriculture and industry. But since there is no reason to believe that this distribution has been perceptibly altered in different periods, the date given in chap. iv, Table 4 should suffice to illustrate the relative development. Both the industrial and agrarian emigrations should thus be augmented by some tens of thousands, in order to express their absolute strength.

of the agrarian emigration, in the eighties it had increased to a third, and in the 1910's to a half.

The background of the industrial emigration is so unlike that of the agrarian that it requires special treatment. To be sure, the population surplus from the agrarian districts furnishes the necessary material for the industrial movement also. Industrial emigration represents the difference between the absorptive capacity of industry and the magnitude of the surplus population.³

Industrial conditions furnish a new background for emigration. Circumstances attractive to a peasant may not in the least appeal to an industrial worker, and vice versa. Obviously persons of different classes may emigrate from different motives.

Further, the recent growth of Swedish industry, which drew its supply of labor mainly from agriculture, has affected the character of the working class. The workers had to adjust themselves to urban life and a complicated industrial system—in marked contrast to the relatively simple routine of country life; furthermore, through their emigration the pattern of emigration was extended to include the cities.

The adversities and difficulties encountered during this period of adjustment will easily release any latent tendency toward emigration. In order to understand why industrial emigration did not assume larger proportions it is necessary to consider the rise of new customs, views, and habits, which bound the working class to Sweden. The stabilization of the working class is of overwhelming importance among the retarding factors of emigration. Not unless this

³ The question of nominal wages influenced the earlier emigrant but little; he moved to America with the firm hope of becoming his own master. But this factor is naturally of decisive importance for the industrial emigrant, who is dependent on his wages for a living; even if he cherishes an ambition of ultimate independence, the wage situation plays a decisive rôle.

factor is given due consideration can a balanced conception of emigration be obtained, since, as already stressed, a study of "individual" motives can give only an inadequate and distorted picture.

Pattern of industrial emigration.—The pattern of industrial emigration does not represent an independent growth; it is an extension of the older agrarian pattern, transferred to the cities. The workers brought to the cities a disposition for emigration in certain situations. They came from places where emigration was as common as baptism and burial. They were educated and they reached maturity in an atmosphere in which emigration was the natural and traditional solution of almost every difficulty. Connections with relatives and friends in America were not immediately severed when a person moved to the city. The pattern of emigration is not confined to any given place; it persists wherever there are personal contacts and connections.

The importance of the extension of the pattern of emigration to include the cities can hardly be overestimated. The industrial emigration did not have the same inertia to overcome as did the agrarian. From the very beginning the industrial emigration followed a familiar and well-worn path. It is of course impossible to say how much of the actual emigration would have occurred had not the pattern already existed, reducing the friction of the movement. Judging from observations concerning the later phases of emigration, there is no reason to suppose that a considerable part of the movement would not have occurred in the absence of this pattern. Several such observations, made in 1907, are recorded in the Emigration Report; they illustrate the general significance of the pattern of emigration so well that they merit quotation here:

"A factor of decisive importance," says Professor Gösta Bagge, "is the influence of friends and relatives already

emigrated to America. There was none among those questioned (fifty emigrants in all) that did not intend to join friends or relatives. The feeling of solidarity with America and the tradition of emigrating to America as soon as the normal course of existence is in any way interrupted are factors whose importance can hardly be overestimated." ⁴

E. H. Thörnberg, also serving as an agent of the Emigration Commission, arrives at similar conclusions, based on studies made during the same year, of emigrants on board an emigrant ship: "Not infrequently the emigrants with whom I talked assured me that they would not have left home under any conditions had they not had relatives to whom they could turn." ⁵

Special emphasis should be laid on the trivial nature of the motives for emigration—aside from the presence of relatives in America—stated by the emigrants. This brings to light the strength of the pattern of emigration, in which the decision to emigrate is based not on rational motives, but on tradition, and often on motives of which the emigrant is unaware.

Political and social factors in industrial emigration.—The attitude of the earlier, mainly agrarian emigrants towards political and social conditions in Sweden and in America has been discussed in the opening chapters. The older picture of America as a land of political liberty and religious tolerance faded under the influence of the development that took place in the two countries. The political

⁴ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VII, p. 9.

⁵ The conclusions reached by these observers are confirmed by the investigations undertaken by Kungliga Socialstyrelsen (Royal Board of Social Affairs) during 1922-1923 concerning emigrants transported by the Swedish-American Line. (*Betänkande med Förslag till Vissa Åtgärder beträffande Emigrationen*, Stockholm, 1928, p. 41), as well as by my own observations made during the summer of 1927, on board the Swedish-American Liner "Gripsholm," and earlier observations at the Swedish Emigrant Home in New York and at the Winnipeg office of the Swedish-American Line.

situation in Sweden changed fundamentally as the result of the rise of the working class movement that accompanied the rapid industrial expansion and the development of big industry. Previous to this time political development had been characterized by the advance of the peasant and middle classes at the expense of the old, privileged, aristocratic order. The period from 1890 to the present time has, however, been marked by the political as well as economic advancement of the working classes. The burning political question, at least up to 1918, was that of universal suffrage; until 1911 the question of parliamentarism was of almost equal importance. Both of these questions were solved on a democratic basis, although only after a prolonged and sometimes bitter struggle. Furthermore, the political advancement of the working classes was followed by legislation favorable to them. Accident and old-age insurance and the eight-hour law are among the most significant of these legislative measures. But in spite of a certain conservatism, which gave this development the character of a gradual evolution; in spite of a rigid social organization, which can be changed but slowly, Sweden exhibits during this period a development increasingly favorable to labor. America, on the other hand, displays an almost surprising conservatism in these matters. Even granting that the United States has not developed in a conservative direction, the relative stability of the political and economic institutions in this country makes it seem increasingly conservative—even reactionary—to the workers of Europe. This can be understood when one compares the relative stability in social forms in the United States with the rapid changes and introduction of new ideas and institutions in Europe in general, and in Sweden in particular.

It is true that a traditional conception of institutions and nations is slow to disappear; as a result of the social lag, especially in periods of transition, one may find different

views concurrently held within a country. Even at present, in the agrarian emigration districts, which draw their information from the older parts of Swedish America, and among older persons, romantic conceptions of America still linger.

But the working class acquired, after the close of the eighties, new standards by which to judge social conditions. The labor movement was at least theoretically under the influence of the doctrines of Marx, and displayed a corresponding aversion to the capitalistic form of society, of which America was considered the prototype. Further, it should be noted that as the industrial emigration was turned more and more to the great industrial centers of America—to New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston—a new and discordant note crept into the “America letters” from these places, contrasting sharply with the contented tone of those sent earlier from the agrarian districts of the West. For the first time the emigrants had encountered industrial America, its feverish activity, hard competition, and hectic life; the slums and corruption of the big cities. With the pæans of praise are now mingled notes of criticism and what may be interpreted as signs of growing disillusionment.⁶

⁶ In the Emigration Report have been assembled a number of letters from Swedish Americans, which are of great value as human documents in the great drama of emigration. Historically their chief value is that they show the gradual change in public opinion towards emigration. The following extract from a letter written early in the present century expresses an awakening pessimism concerning the value of the political equality founded on universal suffrage in America:

“I have worked in the biggest cities of America, but I have not found the working class any better off there than in the old country. Suffrage is a good thing if you use it yourself, but most people sell their votes for a few cents and let the moneyed man arrange things to his own best advantage. The millionaire has the people completely under his thumb; neither you nor anybody else can buy anything until he has set the price.” (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII, p. 254.)

The same note is struck in many other letters. Again I quote at random: “The capitalist rules this country [the U. S. A.] with as hard

Especially since the World War organized labor abroad has regarded America with undisguised suspicion. This revulsion of public opinion reached a dramatic climax with the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in Boston in 1927. This act aroused indignation and bitterness among the working classes of Europe, and not least in Sweden, and gave cause for further criticism of America and American institutions. The old reverence for "the land of the free" is replaced by mistrust, if not actual enmity.⁷

Thus far attention has been turned only to the reaction of the working class to American conditions; it is equally necessary to consider their reaction to Swedish conditions.

a hand as any king or kaiser. Almost all big undertakings are handled by capitalists. The people are slaves to the dollar." (*Ibid.*, p. 239.)

Another emigrant expresses himself as follows concerning the administration of justice in America: "Truth and justice are but little respected in America. In the daily papers, for instance, we often read long, trumped-up stories. The resident of Sweden has all the protection he could desire, but here in America it is often quite different. A citizen commits a crime and the authorities merely wink at it. Public servants commit crimes and escape punishment altogether. Disrespect for law is sometimes carried so far that a frenzied mob tears an arrested negro from the hands of the authorities and puts Lynch Law into practice. The negro is simply burned alive after a summary mock trial. The terrified police cannot prevent, or rather do not wish to prevent, such a misdeed, to say nothing of other outrages." (*Ibid.*, p. 187.)

It would be an exaggeration to state that these extracts are typical of the entire industrial emigration. It may be quite safely assumed that the majority remained relatively aloof from this, as well as other extreme opinions, choosing rather the *aurea mediocritas*.

⁷ I cite at random from *Social Demokraten*, the official daily organ of the Swedish Labor Party. "On the other hand we are appalled by moral and spiritual degradation in frightful measure [in the United States], which as with a megaphone calls to us through the Dayton Trial, through criminal statistics, and through the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, that America is the 'biggest in the world'—at least among so-called 'civilized nations'—also as regards muddling, afraid-of-the-dark (*sic*) orthodoxy, raw criminality, and hypocritical enmity towards liberty. . . . It was in Massachusetts that the seven-year-long legal tragedy recently was enacted; it was in these puritanically pious surroundings that justice and liberty were trampled under foot more cynically than in bloody Chicago itself." ("Amerikanska perspektiv," *Social Demokraten*, December 20, 1927.)

It should be remembered that the organized labor movement in Sweden is preeminently an instrument of the working class in its struggle for betterment; it is aimed against the capitalistic system in general, but against Swedish conditions in particular.

It may be asked if the very existence of an organized labor group is not indication of such dissatisfaction with existing conditions as to give rise to emigration. The first objection to this is that it must not be taken for granted that the working class adjudged conditions in Sweden more unsatisfactory than those in America—ordinarily one chooses the lesser of two evils. But another circumstance of still greater significance enters in here. The organized labor movement is in reality the most important of the factors working towards a stabilization of the working classes; it transforms a loosely, or slightly organized crowd of agricultural workers into a self-reliant class, with common standards of definite values and behavior.

This movement, with its strong organization, contributes towards binding the workers to their class, their occupation, and, eventually, to their country. Political organizations and trades unions give them a tangible goal towards which to strive; they afford opportunity for the exercise of personal initiative, and the development of talents of leadership; they fill the workers with hope of a brighter and better future in Sweden.⁸

⁸ A comparison with the development in Germany may be valuable here. The economic situation alone does not furnish a sufficient explanation for the constantly decreasing emigration from Germany to America. Competent observers claim that the wage situation has had but little to do with the decrease in the German emigration, in spite of the fact that the scale of wages in Germany has been not higher but lower than the scale in England, for example. The explanation of the decrease in the inclination for emigration is to be sought in the psychological change wrought in the working class by favorable legislation, insurance against accident and illness, etc. These measures have given the workers a certain, if only slight, feeling of security. Trades unions and the for-

The situation is well summed up in the following quotation from the Emigration Report:

"The attitude of organized socialism towards emigration has gradually reached a stage where the latter movement is regarded with considerable disfavor; if for no other reason than that it thins the ranks of the trades unions; for the rest the Socialists would rather keep all their adherents at home, in order to achieve their ultimate goal . . . moreover, conditions in America are not especially attractive to our Swedish Socialists." ⁹

But, on the other hand, a part of the workers are left out of the trades unions and the activities of political organizations. For such persons the pressure exerted by the trades unions, especially when, as sometimes happens, they assume a monopolistic nature, may produce such a situation that those not affiliated with the unions, being more in sympathy with American conditions, decide to emigrate. "When one is aware of the exceptionally heavy assessment that the trades unions levy upon their members, one cannot wonder that so many try to avoid this pressure." ¹⁰

Although it is not uncommon to meet emigrants who allege the "tyranny" of the trades unions as the cause of their emigration, it is not advisable to generalize, either as to the prevalence of this oppression as a cause of emigration, or as to the extent to which it is merely a rationalization arrived at after subsequent reflection.¹¹ It is only na-

mation of political parties have fostered a feeling of self-esteem and responsibility.

The leading element of the working class was bent upon the betterment of internal conditions, rather than upon the promotion of external migration. In Germany's case one should not forget the influence of her political expansion, which cast a certain gleam of pride and national self-consciousness over the lives of even the most humble.

⁹ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 833.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ This observation may in a certain degree be regarded as confirmed by statements made by American and Swedish-American observers con-

tural that such a movement should release different tendencies with regard to emigration in different groups, even if the pressure of the trades unions is felt only by a minority.

Whether political conditions as a whole have been positive or negative factors in emigration, or, more correctly perhaps, whether or not the estimated advantages of the two countries have counterbalanced each other, it is the consensus of opinion of competent observers that political motives have been of no particular significance for the later emigration. "Political conditions," writes Bagge in the report previously quoted, "have in no degree given rise to emigration in the cases I have investigated."¹²

To sum up: In the early days of emigration political conditions were positive rather than negative factors in the motivation of emigration, but in the course of time they became latent, until finally, for a large part of the population, they arrayed themselves as negative factors.

cerning the character of emigration at different periods. It is often lamented that in the industrial emigration prior to the World War the emigrants were of a less desirable type than those in the earlier agrarian movement, owing to their general "socialistic" or "radical" leanings. I am not in a position to judge how widespread this opinion has been, but at present it may be stated positively that since the war the attitude of the emigrants seems to be more in accordance with American views.

For the most part the present emigration is composed of youths with a certain amount of education, who often are out of sympathy with the trades-union movement. In proportion as these general observations are correct, they should tend to prove that at present emigration affects persons not affiliated with the labor movement, and only to a minor degree influences members of the trades unions.

¹² Thörnberg arrives at a somewhat different conclusion: "I was rather surprised when I heard the emigrants represent the democratic organization of American life in such a favorable light, and heard their praises of the republican form of government and other features of American life." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VII, p. 13.) This of course does not imply a contradiction, since not all groups of emigrants have arrived at the same degree of disillusionment. Thörnberg has earlier referred to the progress of this change: "The visions from the golden land in the West have paled, and the throngs that every year steer their course thither from our land have as a rule a comparatively sober conception of the possibilities." (*Ibid.* p. 8.)

Little need be said regarding religious motives; they probably played no rôle whatever in the later emigration. This is easily comprehensible, in view of the complete religious freedom and the increasing religious indifference of the working class.

The general social environment in Sweden continued, however, to be a factor not to be neglected. The freer, more unaffected tone of American life continued to exert its attraction, and even though this in itself was not enough to persuade people to emigrate, it was nevertheless one of the factors that contributed most heavily towards creating the atmosphere out of which emigration arose.

"Here [in America] we have rich men, we have learned men, we have smart men, we have bosses who sometimes treat us like dogs, but *we have no masters*." ¹³ This attitude is rather typical. Another emigrant writes: "If I should return to Sweden and go into your office I should feel myself obliged to take my cap or hat in hand and bow and scrape and call an ordinary bookkeeper 'Sir', etc., but here in America working men and office employees are on an equal footing. Even our esteemed President Roosevelt would not consider it a mark of disrespect or ill-breeding if I neglected to remove my hat while talking with him." ¹⁴

Without belittling the importance of this social element, it probably can be said that it loses in weight as Swedish life assumes forms more similar to those of America. The forms of social intercourse assume more outward equality as the old formalistic standards are broken down under the impact of the fundamental changes wrought by industrial development and democratic ideals. It is a striking fact that in any gathering of Swedish Americans the class distinctions of Sweden are most strongly objected to by the

¹³ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VII, p. 144.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 179.

older generation, while the young people are inclined to consider them more as bagatelles.

Of similar character is the influence of compulsory military service. Hardly any single motive is so freely advanced as a cause of emigration as the desire to avoid military service. Not only does the emigration of men eligible for conscription increase very heavily during the year before they are supposed to enter the service, but also many have absorbed during their period of service a general discontent with the entire social system as represented in military life.¹⁵ It is hardly necessary to determine whether or not this discontent is just; the important fact is that it exists as a constant irritant in popular behavior.¹⁶

¹⁵ "Thus one finds that while in 1866 only 4.26 per cent of the male emigrants belonged to the twenty-year age group, in 1909 not less than 16.61 per cent belonged to this group. . . . It is fairly easy to read [in the statistics] the influence of the extension of compulsory military service. Shortly after each extension of this kind, emigration increases among men of twenty years, but later drops gradually to the old figure, although not without some heightening of the former mean level." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 601.)

¹⁶ A military collaborator in the Emigration Report makes the following rather startling admission: "The food is not everywhere of poor quality (!). The officer does not exert himself to sell himself and the service to his men." Further, regarding the officers, "It has become a tradition that one wishes to be born to rule. This ambition has become so inbred in the officers of our army—from the top on down—that no officer but would regard it as a personal insult if any one should tell him he needed to study a method of managing his men." The men react spontaneously to the arrogant note of imported Prussianism sounded in the following extract from the Officers' Maxims: "Command with authority; never revoke or alter a command once given; allow no deviation, no 'backtalk,' even if the command is wrong—this injures prestige and discipline." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet. pp. 871-873.)

The following description given by a conscript, quoted in one of the field investigations of the Emigration Report, illustrates the popular reaction: "Our officers were unreasonable and stuck-up. . . . When we were out on manoeuvres and got so thirsty our tongues clove to the roofs of our mouths, we couldn't even bend over by the nearby brook and dip up a drop of water in our caps—no, the march had to go on, and if anyone let himself be persuaded to dip up a drop anyway he was arrested. The food wasn't well prepared . . . but what was worse was that there wasn't enough of it. When we had finished the last year

Compulsory military service presented a new and unaccustomed burden, but like other restrictions upon the personal liberty of the individual, it grows less onerous as it becomes incorporated into the public consciousness. Especially because of the reduction in length of service following the World War, it no longer plays the same prominent rôle. At present emigration seems more likely to occur in the period of readjustment to civil life following the completion of military service, when the difficulty of finding employment may easily arouse dissatisfaction and eventually lead to emigration. But even under such conditions it is hardly likely that emigration would attain the same volume, did it not flow in the channels provided by the pattern of previous emigration. Nevertheless, it appears that in many cases no further incentive than the aversion to conscription is needed, at least no specific economic incentive, since emigration usually occurs under heavy emotional strain.

Economic background of industrial emigration.—The uncertain nature of economic motives is revealed in the industrial emigration in much the same way as in the agrarian. The explanation of emigration as attempted by the formal economists is based on the difference in the wage level in Sweden and America, and the consequent difference in the standard of living. Nevertheless, not the *nominal* but the *real* wages must be considered even in the formal explanation. For various reasons, however, it is impossible to measure the extent to which the wants of the working classes in the two countries are satisfied by the wages received and the labor given in return.

Thus before proceeding further it is imperative to discuss briefly the inherent difficulty of measuring the differ-

there were several in our parish that went to America at once. They had completed their service, but they were so disgusted they packed up and left everything." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VIII, No. 2, p. 62.)

ences between the standards of living in the two countries. The first problem concerns which groups in the respective countries are to be compared. The general wage level in the two countries, based on broad averages, is of little interest in any specific study. The underlying desire of the emigrant is to improve his status and rise socially to a higher class level than he occupied or could hope to occupy at home. When an unskilled worker emigrates to America, he is generally filled with the ambition to rise at least to the level of skilled labor. In ascertaining the motives of such emigrants a comparison between the standards of the unskilled groups in the two countries is of little value; even were such a comparison possible it would shed little light on the present problem, however interesting it might be from other angles.

A further circumstance complicating the evaluation of the economic motives may here be advanced. When the emigrant first comes to America, he is forced to accept whatever labor and wages are offered. If he is a skilled laborer, he is compelled to relearn his trade. Only after he has adjusted himself to American life can he hope to regain his former relative status. This means that in hope of further advancement he must be content with comparatively unfavorable conditions, and even risk total failure. Thus the more skilled a worker has become in Sweden, the greater his risk in emigrating.

Emigration is actually determined not so much by the absolute wage level in the corresponding groups as by the possibility of advancement. On one hand, the worker possesses in Sweden a modest but comparatively safe position; on the other hand, in emigrating he sacrifices this position for the hope of eventual advancement, at the price of temporary hardships and even the risk of total failure.

The choice between these alternatives would be determined *inter alia*—were it a decision by *homo economicus*—

by the extent to which different groups were willing to purchase the possibility of future advancement at the cost of temporary sacrifices.

The second problem is to compare what Marshall calls the "net advantages" of different groups in Sweden and America—in case a comparison between different groups still is considered pertinent to the explanation of emigration. Three difficulties stand in the way of such an evaluation. The first is the difference in the price levels of the two countries. It is impossible without extensive research to determine the purchasing power of the several monetary units expressed in terms of each other. Real wages are correspondingly difficult to express.

Even if this difficulty could be overcome, a second would present itself. This pertains to the different ways of living. The manner in which a certain class expends its income and the satisfaction obtained from it are largely determined by conventional norms. To cite concrete examples: The French workingman's diet consists largely of the less expensive vegetables, while the English workingman feels that he must have heavier food, especially meat, which is far more expensive than vegetables. The French diet—although the cheaper—is fully as satisfactory as the English, if the different living conditions of the two groups are considered.

The third difficulty consists in calculating the real wages received for a given amount of labor. In America it is generally agreed that the intensity of labor is greater than in Sweden. In this case a lower nominal wage may well correspond to a higher real wage, if the compensation per unit of performed labor is taken as a standard.

This leads up to one of the salient points of the emigration problem. When a worker emigrates he must change his nature as a productive factor. His previous experience is of little value in the economic system of America until

he has adjusted himself to its demands. But here the possibility of comparison ceases. In the last analysis it is a subjective question: whether a person prefers one way of living to another. This subjective evaluation lies beyond the range of numerical expression and objective measurement.

Owing to these difficulties, a direct comparison between the standards of living of different groups in Sweden and America is not only hazardous in itself, but even if possible would throw very little light on the actual motivation of emigration. But if a direct comparison of the absolute standards is futile, nevertheless it is desirable to consider, even if briefly, the relative development of wages in the two countries.

A distinctive feature of the situation in Sweden since 1890 is the rapid growth of industry and the consequent rise in wages. It is difficult to survey the early development of wages, since until quite recently the Swedish wage statistics were very incomplete and often unreliable. All that can be said with certainty is that in older times wages have been very low, and that especially from the nineties the increase starts at a much more rapid rate than earlier. This circumstance is illustrated, although only partially, by the following table.

TABLE 38

WAGES IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS IN STOCKHOLM
(SWEDISH CROWNS PER HOUR), 1876-1910 *

YEAR	CARPENTERS	MASONS	UNSKILLED LABORERS
1876-1880.....	0.25	0.30	0.18
1881-1885.....	0.28	0.35	0.17
1886-1890.....	0.32	0.40	0.17
1891-1895.....	0.32	0.40	0.20
1896-1900.....	0.38	0.48	0.26
1901-1905.....	0.46	0.56	0.30
1906-1910.....	0.51	0.60	0.41

* From unpublished notes on the sources of information concerning the wage situation in Sweden and the United States, by Bertil Nyström (Royal Board of Social Affairs).

The same tendency is illustrated perhaps even more clearly by a comparison between the development of wages in Sweden and in England subsequent to 1890.

TABLE 39

COMPARISON BETWEEN WAGES PAID TO ADULTS IN SWEDEN AND IN ENGLAND (SWEDISH CROWNS PER HOUR) *

YEAR	MECHANICS		YEAR	COMPOSITORS	
	Sweden	England		Stockholm	London
1890	0.237	0.189	1892	0.330	0.587
1895	0.247	0.197	1898	0.403	0.638
1904	0.343	0.293	1904	0.511	0.672
1914	0.668	0.491	1914	0.620	0.672

* *Social Handbook* (Stockholm, 1925), p. 85.

England, being an old industrial nation, shows a relatively high wage level even in 1890. While in 1890 the wages of Swedish mechanics were about a third as high as those of English mechanics, by 1914 the wages were practically the same in both countries; i.e., the Swedish wage standard in this occupational branch was nearly trebled in twenty-five years, while the English wage remained almost constant. Beginning shortly after the World War, wage statistics have become more complete. The following table shows the advance in wages for persons engaged in industry, trade, commerce, and traffic; the year 1924 includes the average wages for 210,344 persons:

TABLE 40

WAGES PAID IN INDUSTRY, TRADE, COMMERCE, AND TRAFFIC (SWEDISH CROWNS PER HOUR), 1913-1924 *

YEAR	WAGES
1913.....	0.45
1921.....	1.63
1924.....	1.14

* *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

The great fluctuations in prices leave the real wages more than 20 per cent higher in 1924 than in 1913. The rapid rate at which wages have increased in Sweden since 1890 is striking, especially in view of the large absorption of labor that has taken place at the same time, and offers an example of economic expansion of unusual vigor, measured by European standards. But even if a comparison is made between the development of wages in America and in Sweden from 1890 to the outbreak of the World War, it proves that Swedish wages, though on a lower level than the American, increase at a more rapid rate.

Taking as an example the wages paid to compositors in Sweden between 1890 and 1914, and comparing them with those paid in the group, "Paper and Printing," in America during the same period, it will be seen that the average Swedish wages increased from 0.33 to 0.62 crowns per hour, or roughly 100 per cent, while the American wages increased from \$476 to \$609 per year, or roughly 25 per cent. The American group, "All Manufacturing" increased from \$439 to \$580 per year during the same interval—an increase of about 30 per cent. Even though these examples give only a glimpse of the development that has taken place, they probably are sufficient to reflect the tendency towards a decreasing difference between the wages paid in Sweden and in America.

Although it has been impossible to enter into details, these data pertaining to wages suffice to illustrate an important fact. The industrial emigration occurred during a period of the greatest upswing ever experienced in Swedish industry. Thus it is not want in itself that drives the industrial emigrants to America.

This movement was not and is not made up of hopeless, despairing persons, suffering for lack of the bare necessities of life. Such cases do occur, but they are too few to set a definite stamp upon this emigration. On the contrary, it

may be said that these emigrants have not only been able to earn a living, but also have acquired a taste for many of "the little things that make life worth living."

It should be emphasized then that because of the general upswing it was only a matter of time until the status of the working class as a whole automatically rose. The psychology of the entire working class was influenced through this steady progress, the result of which has been ably depicted by Pontus Fahlbeck:

This upward movement in Swedish society is unusually strong and has gained expression not least in the free public school system, which gives to each and every one free access to the positions of government and a higher social position. It is for this reason that the higher institutions of learning are recruited to such a large extent from the lower strata of society. Naturally these represent only a small fraction of all belonging to these strata. . . . But in this case the mere possibility of advancement has caused the eyes to be directed upwards and has brought about a general struggle to attain—if not the highest class—at least a higher position in the social scale. . . . This upward movement, which all those who will not or cannot climb the entire social ladder, viz., the majority of the people, desire to follow with all their might, does not progress so rapidly or in such scope as might be wished. . . . For what a large share of the emigrants desire to achieve is just this—an independent, if unassuming, position.¹⁷

Thus if one considers on the one hand the presence of this dynamic tendency in the Swedish working class, and the presence of the pattern favorable for emigration; and on the other hand the inevitable adversities and the limited rate at which economic and social advancement actually proceeds, one has the background of the industrial emigration.

It has been shown in connection with the agrarian movement that emigration takes place when a traditional standard is threatened with stagnation or retrogression. The industrial emigration presents a parallel case, as is well de-

¹⁷ Pontus Fahlbeck, *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. XVIII. See also *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, Häft 4, 1903.

picted by E. H. Thörnberg, in his able study of Swedish emigration:

It appears to me that a rather large number of the industrial workers who emigrate have found themselves on a *fairly high economic plane at home*, at least during the last few years. They have had relatively good incomes; they have inherited or saved money, etc. For a time, at least, their incomes have diminished, or possibly they have been led to expect the failure of the industry in which they are engaged. *They fear lest their standard of living be lowered* [italics mine]. They fear that it will become necessary to use a part of their inherited or hoarded resources to supply the bare necessities of life. Perhaps they have been denied recognition by the establishment in which they have been employed. On the other side of the Atlantic they have their friends and relatives, whose earnings and living conditions have been depicted to them in such glowing colors. . . .

In this category also are included not a few persons whose emigration is no doubt *an expression of their struggle for economic and social betterment*. In all the various groups and classes one meets persons who explain that their emigration was in large measure due to their desire to insure the future of their children by giving them a better education than they could have received in Sweden. The friends and relatives in America write how their children have gone through the grade school, graduated directly into high school, and gone on to university or some other institution of higher learning. And closing their eyes to the great advantages that Sweden offers her children in commercial and industrial as well as purely intellectual fields, they have allowed themselves to be lured by these descriptions." ¹⁸

The background of the industrial emigration differs fundamentally from that of the agrarian, in that while on the whole agriculture has reached a limit to further development, industrial development encounters only temporary setbacks. Owing to the constant fluctuations in economic life, these setbacks might affect the greater portion of the working class for short periods, but as a rule only small numbers are affected adversely in the long run. As new industries arise, old ones decline. During these changes, situations may easily arise in which the individual worker finds

¹⁸ *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VII, p. 17. It should be noticed that Mr. Thörnberg's description includes both the agrarian and industrial emigrations; this has of course influenced the uniformity of the results.

his entire economic position threatened. In such a case, if he is involved in the pattern of emigration, the natural expedient seems to be emigration. This is true, of course, only if he is not repelled by the social forms of America, as is the case with a large share of organized labor.

Dissolution of the pattern of emigration.—An important fact is that an emigration such as the industrial is possible only as long as the pattern of emigration is maintained. While on the one hand the economic incentive for emigration is weakened, and the political and social factors become, if not negative, at least latent elements in the decision to emigrate; on the other hand the friction of the movement is increased for the majority of workers, because the pattern gradually deteriorates unless constantly renewed. The more emigration declines, and the further away in time the act of emigration is removed, the less active become the communications between Swedes in Sweden and in Swedish America. Old bonds of friendship are loosened; the feeling of kinship is weakened. The further the Americanization of Swedish America proceeds the more foreign do the two groups seem to each other. Under the influence of different environments their views and customs, and finally even their languages diverge; all of which tends to destroy the feeling of solidarity.

The process of Americanization is relatively slow in the rural districts; the Swedish language and outlook survive longer there than in the cities, where the constant contact with American life and the difficulty of keeping together more rapidly break down the original views and customs of the emigrants. In the cities the pattern of emigration does not arise without comparative difficulty, and where it does arise it dissolves unless constantly and rapidly reinforced by new accessions of emigrants. Whereas in the earlier epoch of Swedish industrial development, the presence of the older pattern as well as the older views of America made it na-

tural for a person to emigrate when temporary reverses or minor difficulties arose,¹⁹ a different situation ensued upon the dissolution of this pattern. In proportion as the strength of the pattern diminishes, the social distance increases and the friction of emigration becomes greater. America once more becomes a foreign country, and accordingly a decision to emigrate requires more courage, determination, and strength of motive.

A strong desire to emigrate is difficult to arouse in the majority of the working class; its general status has been improved, it has acquired a new stability, and its general outlook conflicts with the social and economic forms of America. It is difficult to determine the importance of the part played by the pattern of emigration in the actual strength of the movement; nevertheless, the relatively slight emigration to other immigration countries, e.g., to Canada, shows its significance. Instead of emigrating to Canada and extending the pattern of emigration to include that country, the majority of workers now prefer to remain

¹⁹ A typical description from the period of transition is given by Thörnberg: "In connection with the subject of *stability and instability* I have interested myself especially in two categories of emigrants. As representative for the first, I may advance the hypothetical case of a man who has been raised, for instance, in a little sawmill town in Norrland, and has either worked in the mills since boyhood or has come there as a young man and worked for ten or fifteen years. Assume that the mill is shut down, either wholly or partially, and his earnings begin to decrease or, as was the case at Obbola, that plans are being made to dismantle or move the mill. Our man has become attached to this place; he has married here and raised a family; perhaps he has built his own home, cultivated a little piece of land, etc. One might say that this place is identified with his entire existence. It pains him to have to break away from these associations. Even if he were to go to another mill in the same tract he would feel like a stranger. The very thought of getting a new start in this country is repugnant. Then come the plans for emigration to America, where he has relatives and friends and fellow-sympathizers in the religious sect to which he belongs. And the man from Obbola—to cite an actual case—apparently prefers journeying over the vast expanses of land and water to Seattle, Washington, to looking for work and taking up residence in the Sundsvall district." (*Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. VII, p. 13.)

in Sweden. Even when, as after the war, unemployment was general, they preferred to wait for better times in Sweden, in the meantime supported by doles and other means of relief from the State and the trades unions.²⁰

Summary.—The industrial emigration may be regarded as a transitory form, without the independent background of the agrarian movement. It is caused primarily by a general upward movement within the working class. When this movement encountered temporary obstacles certain individuals turned to emigration, following the custom of their peasant ancestors. The pattern of emigration, transplanted to an industrial milieu, decreases the friction to be overcome.

During the progress of industrial emigration, under the influence of the labor movement, the workers are welded together into a class. They acquire common standards and views, in the light of which America becomes less and less attractive, while at the same time they take increasing interest in domestic affairs, owing to their growing political influence.

At the same time that the motivation of emigration is thus weakened, the friction of the movement increases through the gradual dissolution of the pattern of emigration. This process extends over a considerable period, but is intensified through the influence of urban life, which rapidly increases the differences between the Swedes and Swedish Americans, with regard to customs, language, and views.

²⁰ The emigration I observed during my visit to Canada in 1925 has the character of a new pioneer emigration. The participants are generally young men of some education; not a few have finished the *realskola*; they are ambitious to rise socially, and seeing their ambitions cramped in Sweden, they set out for Canada. This desire for rapid betterment is so strong that they are willing to run the risks associated with it. This emigration is the result of a selection similar in many respects to that which took place in the beginning of emigration to the United States. I am informed, however, that this is not true of the entire post-war emigration. Immediately after the war there followed an emigration of industrial workers, who rapidly became disappointed in the possibilities afforded. This type of emigration has now practically ceased.

CHAPTER XII

THE PROFESSIONAL EMIGRATION

Professional emigration defined.—There remains still a third type of emigration to be considered, i.e., “professional emigration.” This term, as used here, does not imply that all the participants were in the literal sense professional men—physicians, lawyers, engineers, architects, teachers, ministers, or actors, but rather that they occupied a social and economic position corresponding to that represented by these categories. Here are included in the professional emigration also students and graduates of institutions of higher learning, and persons with “white-collar jobs,” who occupy a position intermediate between the industrial and professional emigrations, but whose social ambitions with respect to emigration place them in the latter group. Every classification is of course more or less artificial, and a great number of marginal cases could with almost equal propriety be included in adjacent groups.

Owing to the difficulty of determining with certainty which persons should be included in these respective groups, it is impossible to ascertain with precision the magnitude of this emigration. As repeatedly remarked in earlier chapters, the official Swedish statistics are unsatisfactory in their occupational grouping of emigrants. Although the worst defects were remedied in 1903 and 1921, the difficulty remains that the classification is what might be called vertical instead of horizontal; i.e., the emigrants are classified by occupational groups more than by their position within these respective groups.¹

¹ The classification adopted in 1903 was changed in 1921, complicat-

So important is it to gain a conception, however imperfect, of the development of this professional emigration movement, that in spite of the difficulties encountered, the following table has been prepared:

TABLE 41
PROFESSIONAL EMIGRATION AT DIFFERENT PERIODS

PERIOD	TOTAL NO. OF EMIGRANTS	ENGINEERS AND FOREMEN *		PUBLIC SERVICE,** LITERARY OCCUPA- TIONS, ETC.	
		No.	Per Cent of Total	No.	Per Cent of Total
1903-1907	19,193	116	0.6	253	1.3
1920-1926	10,374	284	2.7	287	2.8

* The group "Engineers and Foremen" is of course heterogeneous, which lessens the value of this table as a measurement of the absolute strength of this emigration, but as there is no reason to believe that the relative strength of the two occupations within the group has developed adversely to the strength of the engineers, the figures remain valuable as an indication of the development of the professional emigration.

** This group probably includes the greatest proportion of persons with higher education, except those with technical training. Nevertheless it contains many different elements. Under the head, "Religion, Education, Literary and Artistic Occupations," is included the following jumble: clergy of the Swedish State Church; attendants of the Swedish State Church; clergy and attendants of other religious denominations; teachers in elementary schools and kindergartens; lawyers; writers; journalists and publicists; artists, acrobats (*sic*), and similar occupations; employes at institutions of science and art; other persons at similar institutions.

The groups included here, even if not purely professional, probably embrace the greatest part of the professional emigration. The figures are of considerable value in illustrating the relative development of this movement, since it may be assumed that the internal composition of the groups has not perceptibly changed during the interval in question.

Regardless of whether the *absolute* figures for the professional emigration are too high or too low, the fact re-

ing the problem of obtaining mutually comparable series. Cf. *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, and *Sveriges officiella statistik*, "Utvandring och invandring," 1921. As an illustration of the difficulty of securing a horizontal distribution may be cited that sea captains and sailors are grouped under the same heading, and that the group, "Without Definite Occupation," includes such heterogeneous elements as "Pupils at Educational Institutions, Pensionaries of Foundations, and Public Charges and Vagrants."

mains that the movement is numerically insignificant. Its importance lies in the quality and not the quantity of its participants. Although the absolute scope of this emigration is slight, its relative significance increases rapidly. Between the periods 1903-1907 and 1921-1926 the percentage of engineers and foremen increased from 0.6 per cent to 2.7 per cent of the total emigration in these respective periods, or, in other words, the relative importance of this group was more than quadrupled. From 1903 to 1907 the percentage of the emigrants in the group "Public Servants, Literary Occupations, etc.," was 1.3 per cent of the total, while from 1921 to 1926 the corresponding figure was 2.8 per cent, or more than double the earlier figure.

Although difficult to establish with statistical accuracy, it is generally known that especially since the World War a large number of persons of the educated classes have emigrated. Even if the professional emigration really started at the turn of the century, there can be little doubt that its volume increased heavily in the period following the war.

This should not, however, be understood to mean that the upper classes did not participate in emigration during the entire preceding period. Individual emigrations have of course occurred at different times, but as a rule these were prompted more by necessity than by inclination. It was customary to send to America persons who were misfits at home. Fast living, extravagance, lack of talent, criminal tendencies, a *mésalliance*, or a general lack of social adaptability—any of these causes was enough to provide a person with a ticket for America. This tended to stamp emigration from the higher classes with a social stigma to which few dared or desired to expose themselves. But this attitude has gradually disappeared, and emigration from the upper classes under certain conditions has become recognized as a socially respectable act. Had it not been for this change in attitude it is hardly likely that the professional

emigration would have attained its present scope; at any rate it is such an important factor in the selection of emigrants that its due consideration is essential to an understanding of the background of this most recent phase of emigration.

Cultured opinion and emigration.—It is significant that at the same time that the attitude of the lower classes towards America changed to increasing indifference or aversion, the attitude of the upper classes changed in the opposite direction.

The reasons for this are not entirely clear. The very fact that persons of a new type participate in emigration has a certain effect on public opinion; the background of the changing composition of the movement is in turn dependent on a social and economic revaluation of America. These circumstances cannot be explained with finality otherwise than through a more detailed study of the sources, dating from the turn of the century. It is, however, very likely that an impetus was given to this change through the appearance of the United States as a first-rate power in the arena of world politics, following the Spanish-American War. From this time on, a growing desire to learn the secret of American prosperity is manifested. A desire to profit by America's experience and to apply this knowledge to the solution of Sweden's problems, which in many respects are like those of America, is attracting an increasing number of serious-minded students across the Atlantic.

As indicative of this increasing interest and its penetration of society, a temporary Parliamentary committee reporting on emigration in 1904 is quoted here:

Finally, concerning the investigation of American conditions, especially in the fields of economics and public education, with a view to determining what perchance is worthy of imitation, it is the opinion of the Committee that investigations and studies of this nature, dealing now with one, now with another special field, would be highly useful, and should be pursued with diligence, partly by the State and

partly by organizations and individuals. The remarkable development and amazing progress of America, especially in her economic life, are phenomena whose study must yield most valuable lessons for other countries. The upswing of Japan in recent times shows very well what that country has gained through her assiduous studies of European and American conditions.²

This development of closer relations with the United States continued up to the World War, after which it was resumed with still greater vigor, accelerated by America's rise to the position of the most powerful nation in the world. American influence becomes more clearly evidenced in newspapers, moving picture theaters, and in the organization of business and industry. The studies started in America in the fields of technology, commerce, and industry have spread to new fields. Partly through a better organization in the exchange of students, in the form of different kinds of scholarships, and partly on their own initiative, increasing numbers of Swedes are studying the development of medicine, economics, and the natural sciences in the United States.

Through the closer contact with the United States, which dispersed at least a small part of the dark cloud of ignorance and prejudice that hid the country from cultured opinion, the older attitude, with its mixture of superiority and complacency, was replaced by one half jealous, half respectful, even though in certain circles and in some newspapers it still seems to be considered good form to treat news from the "big country in the West" in a facetious or jocular manner.

This attitude is probably a reflection of what might be termed a national inferiority complex, rather than of rationally conceived conclusions. As a matter of fact American conditions are studied and imitated in ever increasing measure.³

² Cited in *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bet., p. 17.

³ It is not without interest to notice that parallel with this gradual

The change in attitude is naturally accompanied by a breakdown of the old, censorious attitude towards emigration. The soil is now prepared for emigration from the upper classes.⁴

Economic background of professional emigration.—Since the professional emigration embraces new classes, possessing different standards and demands on life, it is only fitting to consider the economic background of this movement, as well as various conditions important for the emigration of the higher classes.

The rapid advance in the general economic standard of Sweden, especially after 1890, filled the population with social and economic aspirations. The expansion begun in agriculture extended to industry, and members of the lower classes in increasing numbers now invaded the higher posts in business and the governmental service.

An obvious example of this democratization of society is the working-class movement, which elevated its leaders into the best society and the highest offices of the kingdom.

change of opinion in the professional class regarding America runs a revaluation of the Swedish Americans. The former rather disdainful and supercilious attitude gives way to another extreme, with an implicit tendency to regard all Swedish Americans through rose-colored glasses. This swing of the pendulum to the opposite extreme is overwhelmingly an emotional reaction, unacquainted as enlightened opinion is with the real character of Swedish America. It would, however, be unwise to infer that this new attitude is always devoid of a material basis. In the popular work *Svenskarna i Amerika* [The Swedes in America] (Stockholm, 1924), I have found the following startling greeting, extended by a prominent legislator from the province of Värmland, known for its hospitality: "May they [the Swedish Americans] come home to rest at last in the land of their fathers! They will most assuredly be greeted with open arms, especially since they will not come empty-handed" (!).

⁴ It is not difficult to find examples of this new attitude. One of its earliest expressions is found in Helmer Key's book *Rekonstruktionspolitikens bankrupt från 1920*. Dr. Key, who is editor-in-chief of *Svenska Dagbladet*, a leading conservative daily, recommends emigration as a solution of the general unemployment consequent upon the World War. The greatest significance of this book lies in its revaluation of *emigration as a career*.

This may have been a more or less superficial manifestation; consequently it is significant to find that the period of upswing really effected such results as to modify fundamentally the status of the upper classes. Great masses of the people, aided by the democratic school system, have in increasing measure utilized their improved economic standard to secure a better education for their children.

A considerable share of this upward movement takes place, or in any case can most readily be traced, through the institutions of higher learning. The Swedish school system is in many respects essentially different from those of England and America. A translation of the various terms employed, even if possible, might easily be misleading. Before surveying the educational system it is therefore desirable to consider briefly the organization of higher education in Sweden: the following description is taken from the work, *Sweden, Historical and Statistical Handbook*, compiled by the Central Bureau of Statistics:

In pursuance of the Education Act of the 18th of February, 1905, the secondary schools are divided into two groups: *realskolor*, or modern schools (independent), and *högre allmänna läroverk*, or higher public schools, comprising a *realskola* and a *gymnasium*.

The *realskola* consists of six "one-year" classes (classes 1 to 6), the final examination being the *realskoleexamen*. The *gymnasium*, which is superimposed on the five lower classes of the *realskola* and is divided into two "sides," the *realgymnasium* and the *latingymnasium*, consists of four "one-year" classes called "rings" (rings I to IV), its final examination being the *studentexamen*. The sixth class of the *realskola* is thus, in point of the scholar's age, parallel with the first ring of the *gymnasium*.

The first class of the *realskola* is the lowest, being intended for boys of the age of 9. The *realskoleexamen* should normally be taken at the age of 15 or 16, and the *studentexamen* at the age of 18 or 19.

The aim of the *realskola* is to provide a common citizen's education of wider scope than that of the elementary school. The aim of the *gymnasium* is, over and above the general education imparted by the *realskola*, to prepare the scholars for the university, or equivalent educational establishments.

The *realskoleexamen* entitles those who have passed it to admission

to the postal and telegraph training courses, certain technical, agricultural, and forestry schools, to appointments in the State railway service, the Post Office Savings Bank, etc. The *studentexamen* taken in any of the two departments ("sides") entitles those who have passed it to matriculation at the universities, and is the condition (in certain cases joined with a stipulation as to its being taken in the one or the other of the departments of the school) for admission to various higher colleges.

Table 42 gives the number of persons annually passing the *studentexamen*, and also the number passing the *realskolexamen* since 1907. As the *studentexamen* especially gives a certain "upper class" distinction, it is fitting to start by following the increase in the number passing it.

TABLE 42

NUMBER OF PERSONS ANNUALLY PASSING THE *Studentexamen* AND *Realskolexamen*, 1866-1925 *

PERIOD	<i>Studentexamen</i>		<i>Realskolexamen</i>	
	No.	Per Cent of Increase	No.	Per Cent of Increase
1866-1870.....	434	.....	.....	.....
1871-1875.....	614	41.5	.....	.....
1876-1880.....	574	—6.5	.....	.....
1881-1885.....	784	36.6	.....	.....
1886-1890.....	787	0.4	.....	.....
1891-1895.....	692	12.1	.....	.....
1896-1900.....	850	22.8	.....	.....
1901-1905.....	1133	33.3	.....	.....
1906-1910.....	1544	36.3	1327**	.....
1911-1915.....	1754	13.6	1598	20.4
1916-1920.....	1988	13.3	1884	17.9
1921-1925.....	2336	17.5	3092	64.0

* *Statistisk Årsbok*.

** 1907-1910.

For earlier years, covered by Table 42, the increase in the number passing the *studentexamen* is irregular, but from the middle of the 1890's on the development assumes more definite lines, and a steady increase begins. Between the periods 1866 to 1870 and 1891 to 1895 the increase was 258 persons, or about 60 per cent, while between 1891 and 1895 and 1921 and 1925 the increase was 1644, or about

237 per cent. This represents, however, only a part of the actual influx to higher education, for the reason that since the introduction of the *realskoleexamen* in 1907 many persons who otherwise would have continued to the *studentexamen* have considered the *realskoleexamen* sufficient for their requirements. From 1907 to 1910 the number passing this examination annually was 1,327, while from 1921 to 1925 the number was 3,092, an increase of about 133 per cent.

A few years later the increase in the number of persons passing the *studentexamen* was followed by a similar increase in the number attending the universities and other institutions of higher learning. Table 43 does not purport to include all institutions of this kind, but those included are by far the largest and most important. During the interval between the periods 1876 to 1880 and 1896 to 1900 the number of university students increased from 2,775 to 3,310, or about 20 per cent. Between 1896 and 1900 and between 1921 and 1925 the number increased from 3,310 to 8,226 persons, or about 248 per cent.

The inevitable result of this was a strong influx into the civil service and the professions. Owing to the increasing prosperity and the general expansion, the demand for persons of this type was of course increased. But the growth of education was so rapid that the class of persons of higher education increased many times faster than the population as a whole.

This necessarily raised certain difficulties, similar to those already encountered in other social planes. The increase in the number of aspirants in different branches of the learned occupations, in the civil service, and in the professions, is only to a minor extent dependent on economic considerations; it is determined by tradition, custom, and inclination.

It is purely a matter of chance if the demand for different types of highly qualified labor increases in the same direc-

TABLE 43
NUMBER OF STUDENTS ANNUALLY ATTENDING THE UNIVERSITIES AND
OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF CORRESPONDING RANK *

PERIOD	STUDENTS OF				COLLEGE OF COMMERCE, STOCKHOLM	PHARMA- CEUTICAL INSTITUTE	VETERINARY COLLEGE	COLLEGE OF FORESTRY	TOTAL	PER CENT OF INCREASE
	THEOLOGY, LAW, MEDICINE, AND PHILOSOPHY AT UNIVERSITIES	ROYAL INSTITUTE TECHNOLOGY, STOCKHOLM	CHALMERS POLY- TECHNICAL INSTITUTE, GOTHENBURG							
1871-1875	2243	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	2243	.....
1876-1880	2304	246	149	.....	.....	.....	34	22	2755	22.8
1881-1885	2823	.....	107	.....	.....	.....	61	19	3010	9.3
1886-1890	3154	235	153	.....	.....	.....	70	18	3630	20.6
1891-1895	2719	310	226	.....	.....	.....	44	18	3317	-8.6
1896-1900	2594	358	278	.....	.....	.....	51	29	3310	-0.2
1901-1905	2748	461	430	.....	.....	91	54	44	3828	15.7
1906-1910	3833	465	421	.....	127	83	79	74	5082	32.8
1911-1915	5078	485	438	.....	160	55	112	79	6407	26.1
1916-1920	5450	620	513	.....	219	69	125	114	7110	11.0
1921-1925	6605	685	478	.....	167	77	101	113	8226	15.7

* Statistisk Årsbok.

* Statistisk Årsbok.

tion or at the same rate as the number of applicants for positions. On the other hand there exist within these strata certain standards with respect to wages and general status, below which pride and social convention forbid the acceptance of employment.

Accordingly it was not long before complaints arose that the learned professions were overcrowded; that overproduction of students, physicians, and engineers prevailed. Practically the only exception was the ministerial calling. These complaints became specially loud in bad times. The universities turn out graduates regardless of the current demand of the labor market. During a period of depression the absorptive capacity of the industrial system is seriously impaired, and not infrequently persons already employed must give up their positions.

An especially flagrant example of this is presented by the general deflation crisis subsequent to 1921. War-time commissions were cut off. The business administration of the State limited its activities. Private enterprises curtailed production and dismissed a part of their personnel. After a period of expansion there now came a strong reaction. Young men with their examination certificates in their pockets were everywhere met with point-blank refusals to their applications for work. Pessimism became as widespread as the optimism that had accompanied the opulence of the period of inflation.

Out of this situation, which only illuminates more brightly the underlying tendency of the development, arose emigration. The background is, to be sure, determined by the opinion that it is easier for a person of a certain status to gain a living in America than it is in Sweden. But still less than in earlier emigrations is it a question of absolute poverty. Actually this "overproduction"—the word is used only with a certain hesitation—of persons with an expensive education is a sign of increasing prosperity. Emigra-

tion is thus only the natural outcome of *relative* overcrowding and is an expression of the will and ability to choose and reject. With this important limitation, it is correct to characterize the motives of this emigration as economic, since it is brought about by the difference in the estimated economic possibilities of the countries involved.

In view of the rate at which the higher institutions of learning turn out aspirants for middle and upper class positions, and the difficulties many of these persons have to combat, it is rather surprising that the professional emigration has not assumed greater proportions than it actually has. The explanation should be sought in the *frictional* factors, which in this emigration are fundamentally different from those of earlier movements.

First, it must be considered that because of the recent inception of the professional movement, there has not yet been time for the development of a pattern. The pattern of the agrarian or industrial emigrations is inadequate for the professional. An engineer seeking a position in New York is little benefited by maintaining contact with an uncle who for the last thirty years has lived on a farm in Minnesota. Moreover, no pattern can come unscathed through such social changes as have swept Sweden and America in recent years. As a person begins to acquire higher education in Sweden through attending high schools and universities, he gradually loses contact with and interest in his relatives and friends in America, and vice versa.

Granted the dissimilarities in the character of the two movements and the changes in conditions in the intervening period, fundamentally the inertia that professional emigration has to overcome corresponds to that encountered by the pioneer emigration of the forties and fifties.

Foremost among the frictional factors of the professional emigration is the *difficulty of adjustment* to American conditions. The participants in this emigration have al-

ready reached a certain social level in Sweden; they or their parents have expended effort and money, and not infrequently have deprived themselves of many conveniences in order to obtain a higher education.

Usually upon arrival in America they cannot immediately obtain a position where this training can be turned to advantage. This relinquishment of certain standards and conceptions, together with the inevitable risk of failure, contributes towards deterring a large share of the prospective emigrants from emigrating. This circumstance was of far less importance in the early emigration. The lower, relatively, a person stands on the social scale, the less he has to lose through emigration. A Swedish agricultural laborer never has serious difficulty in finding a corresponding place in America, but a student of Icelandic or of Scandinavian archaeology cannot as a rule step directly into a professor's chair. He must first learn English—and the demands for nicety of expression increase the higher he progresses in society. Consequently, if he lacks private means, he may have to start at the bottom as a waiter or laborer, or in some other occupation calling for manual rather than intellectual dexterity; only gradually does he overcome the difficulties barring him from his chosen profession.⁵

⁵ I have met with several cases of this type. Naturally the situation is otherwise for men of already recognized standing in their professions, but these are not in the same degree attracted by emigration. This type will be discussed later. A new kind of pattern is being formed by the activities of various educational foundations in extending fellowships for study in America. Although these activities are pursued along different lines, the fellowships answer precisely the same purpose as the earlier pattern of emigration, making it possible for the student to adjust himself to American life under favorable conditions. He has time to learn English; he establishes contacts with various individuals and institutions, and has opportunity to survey the American scene at leisure. At the same time—especially if his stay extends over several years—his old contacts with Sweden are gradually broken, and if offered a position he is likely to remain in America.

These activities are, however, still so new that it is too early to draw general conclusions; moreover, they are not the only elements entering

Closely related to this adjustment in America is the *character of the training received* in Sweden. Much of the instruction given in higher institutions of learning in Sweden has only a limited, national application. Only in Sweden can such persons as students of Swedish law and the majority of teachers—especially in the lower schools—and ministers of the gospel derive direct benefit from their training. Accordingly emigration is heaviest in the fields of international application. This explains why the professional emigration is so largely made up of engineers and other technically trained men, foresters, physicians, and to a minor extent, students of the natural sciences.

As long as the students do not take the international labor market into consideration in choosing their fields of study, the national character of certain studies will to a large extent restrict the professional emigration. In this as in the agrarian movement, emigration must, so to speak, run in the blood: the youth must be "educated to emigrate." At present this is far from being the case: for the majority of this class emigration is resorted to as a rather bitter medicine.

A third significant fractional factor is the *evaluation of milieu*. The higher the individual mounts in the social scale, the more numerous the circumstances playing a part in his emigration. A Swedish industrial laborer living on a comparatively low intellectual and economic level is able to satisfy only a few relatively simple needs, most of which lie on the material plane. For a cultivated man, actively interested in social life and national and cultural affairs, probably the most significant factors in his enjoyment of life lie

into the composition of a pattern. For example, a similar function is performed by the clubs of Swedish technical men in various cities, the largest and most influential being that in Brooklyn. Further, plans have been laid in Sweden for the establishment of a placement bureau for professional emigrants. Cf. *Betänkande med förslag till vissa åtgärder beträffande emigrationen*, Kungliga Socialstyrelsen, Stockholm, 1928, p. 21.

in another plane. Consequently he is far more dependent on a milieu circumscribed by many often intangible factors. The money wages received for his labor comprise only a part of his actual compensation. The lower the social standing of the individual, the easier it is for him to adjust himself to a new milieu, since the lower milieus, because of their simplicity, do not present such great variations. The milieu of the upper and especially the middle classes, on the other hand, is national in a more pronounced sense: it is the seat of national culture and ideals. The more the individual is bound by environmental influences, the more difficult it is for him to break away and adjust himself to a new milieu.⁶

Owing to the strength of these frictional factors, it is futile to prophesy the future of the professional emigration, but it seems not unlikely that if the number of aspirants to the learned professions continues to increase at the present rate, and if a pattern is evolved, the professional emigration may well become an important factor in Swedish life.

Emigration célèbre.—A somewhat different type of migration should also be considered in connection with the professional emigration. This emigration depletes the peaks of the various professions. As it often attracts public attention, it is here called, perhaps inadequately, “*emigration célèbre*.”

This movement is related to the industrial revolution, which was followed by urbanization; industry became localized at certain points, and consequently the most enterprising part of the population was drawn to the cities. Parallel with this runs a concentration of industry in different coun-

⁶ This fact has been recognized and well elucidated by André Siegfried, who points out that the cultured European finds it difficult to acclimatize himself in America. American middle-class life, with its relatively simple and uniform standards, does not attract the average European of the educated classes. (André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age*, New York, 1927.)

tries. Just as the cities within a nation had become the centers of certain industries, so certain countries in increasing degree become the centers of certain industries. One may be justified in speaking of the growth of world cities. England plays such a rôle for a great part of the world. The economic life of Belgium is founded on her international trade.

This movement is relatively new and heretofore has affected only certain fields. With the greater mobility of recent times, however, it has begun to assume a more important place and is worthy of notice because of its potential significance for the future.

In no field is this tendency so well illustrated as in the film industry, which thanks to its youth and freedom from tradition has been unusually sensitive to the trends of modern progress. The greatest part of the world's film industry is localized in California, and no other country competes with the United States in the production of films. After the World War there arose in Sweden a film industry which maintained a high artistic level and in a certain degree achieved financial success. The American industry, constantly seeking to acquire new talent, turned its attention to the Swedish staff of directors and actors, and since it was able not only to outbid the Swedish enterprise but also to lure with a greater field of activity, the film city of Hollywood now has a thriving colony of Swedish actors and directors, while the Swedish industry is on the decline.

The same influence, although perhaps less obvious, is being felt in other fields. An early instance of this is furnished by the emigration of John Ericsson, in search of an environment favorable to the development of his inventive genius. A similar attraction is exerted when the greater part of a big industry is localized in a certain country, as the automobile industry in America. Consequently a not inconsiderable number of Swedish engineers have emigrated

to America and found employment in the automotive industry. In recent years America has also begun to attract persons of artistic and scientific eminence.

The rise of nations—especially the smaller ones—to prosperity and a richer intellectual life is dependent on their ability to retain within their borders those individuals who possess exceptional creative ability and talent for leadership in various fields. It is obvious that when the selection of emigrants tends to single out individuals of high quality rather than an average from different groups, there is occasion for serious concern in the emigration country.⁷

Summary.—Especially during the last twenty-five years a new current has united itself with the great stream of emigration. Because of the heavy influx into the learned professions, there arises an overcrowding at the base, owing to the difficulty of increasing the demand for highly qualified labor at the same rate as the supply. A part of this group resorts to emigration. This movement, although on a higher social plane than the earlier ones, is essentially analogous to them, following the same basic scheme: dynamic factor—growth of the group concerned—emigration.

Superimposed on this movement, so to speak, there arises another, still of small proportions: owing to its selective mechanism it presents a significant problem. Celebrities—leaders in different professions—are attracted to America by the great opportunities for a full development of their talents, rather than by any development threatening them with economic retrogression.

⁷ It is necessary to point out, however, that in modern life tendencies are at work in the opposite direction as well, partly neutralizing the effects of the concentration of industry. An industrial may divide his activities between different nations by establishing branch factories. A writer may reach the foreign public through translations, and so on. The development of communications and trade, while contributing to the concentration of industry, has at the same time made men more mobile and more independent of habitation.

CHAPTER XIII

REMIGRATION, OR THE RETURN OF EMI-GRANTS

Remigration: its character and volume.—Concurrently with emigration occurs a counter movement of persons who for one reason or another return to Sweden. A study of the scope and nature of this remigration illuminates indirectly the nature of emigration; accordingly a study which omits this phase of migration is incomplete.

The official Swedish statistics on immigration extend back only to 1875, although the Emigration Report gives figures back to 1871. During the period from 1871 to 1925 the emigration to non-European countries, i.e., mainly to the United States, amounted to 1,021,000 persons, while during the same period the immigration to Sweden from these countries amounted to 189,000 persons, signifying that the immigration constituted 18.6 per cent of the emigration. It may safely be assumed that the greatest part of this immigration represented remigration, and that therefore about every fifth emigrant returned to Sweden after a longer or shorter stay abroad.

The first step in a discussion of the causes and motives of remigration is to determine at what point it takes place after the emigrant's arrival in America. No exact data are available, but a fair conception may be gained through comparing the respective distributions by age in the groups of emigrants and remigrants. Table 44 furnishes such a comparison for the period from 1871 to 1905.

Although the figures in this table apply to the entire migration, including also that to and from the European

countries, this should hardly affect their applicability, so great is the numerical preponderance of the American contribution. The distribution by age is more uniform among the immigrants than among the emigrants, but in both cases the maximum migration occurs in the ages of youth. The maximum emigration occurs between the ages of twenty

TABLE 44

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF EMIGRANTS FROM AND IMMIGRANTS TO SWEDEN, 1871-1905 *

AGE GROUP	PER CENT OF TOTAL EMIGRATION	PER CENT OF TOTAL IMMIGRATION
0-5	6.49	8.69
5-10	5.68	6.15
10-15	4.72	3.49
15-20	19.23	6.88
20-25	25.74	17.62
25-30	15.69	19.14
30-35	8.40	14.34
35-40	4.91	8.95
40-45	3.06	5.58
45-50	2.06	3.43
50-55	1.41	2.19
55-60	1.06	1.43
60-65	0.75	0.91
65 and above.....	0.80	1.20

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, p. 176.

and twenty-five years, and the maximum immigration between the ages of twenty-five and thirty years. About 60 per cent of the emigration takes place between fifteen and thirty years of age; the same percentage of immigration falls between the ages of twenty and forty years. Immigration includes a somewhat larger proportion of children than emigration, on account of the more mature age of the immigrants. About 12 per cent of the emigrants and 15 per cent of the immigrants are below ten years of age. As only 15 per cent of the immigrants are over forty years old,

it is evident that the greater part of the remigration occurs in youth and early middle age.

From this may be drawn the important conclusion that the majority of the emigrants who return do so shortly after their arrival in America. It is during the period of adjustment to American conditions that the desire to return to Sweden most forcibly manifests itself. Once the first difficult period in America is past, the probability of remigration rapidly decreases. Thus the causes of remigration should be sought in the period of what popularly is known as "Americanization."

Already in Sweden the emigrant has lived in an environment where the traditional views, customs, and habits were undergoing sweeping changes as the result of the growth of cities and industries, and of political reform. However significant these changes may be, however deep they may cut into the life of the individual, they become insignificant if compared with the revolutionary changes thrust upon many of the emigrants. In order to fit himself for American life, the emigrant must adjust himself not only to a new social and political order, but also to a new language and a new industrial and economic tempo.¹

The mechanism compelling the individual to conform with the American environment is subtle and varied and of great efficacy. Lack of economic conformity is soon evidenced in lack of earning power; lack of social conformity results in isolation and ridicule. The "greenhorns" are considered a legitimate target for raillery and disdain.

The necessity of conforming, if only externally, with American standards occasions the greatest difficulties, and is reacted against most strongly immediately after the emigrant's arrival in America. The more he accustoms himself

¹ Especially rapid is the transformation of the non-agrarian groups. It has earlier been pointed out that the emigration to the Swedish-American agricultural settlements encounters somewhat different condition.

to his new environment and its strange ways, the less is the pressure towards conformity felt as a restraint.

The degree of difficulty or ease with which this adjustment is effected depends on the relation between the emigrant's background in Sweden and his new environment in America. It is impossible to follow the process of Americanization in detail; it is important, however, to outline how the character of the emigrants influences the course of this process.

Before discussing the individual backgrounds of the different groups of remigrants it is essential to follow the development of remigration as a whole. The absolute as well as the relative strength of this movement is presented in Table 45.

So far as it holds true that the strength of remigration is dependent on the difficulty of adjustment in America, the volume of the stream of returning emigrants should increase in the same degree as the difficulties of this process. The greatest obstacles arise during crises, when production is curtailed and general pessimism prevails. The first to suffer is naturally the newly-arrived emigrant; he is usually the first to be laid off and the last to be taken on; at the same time he has the least resources to fall back upon.

Thus it is not surprising to find that the American crises have been followed by greatly increased remigration to Sweden, with a corresponding or even greater decrease in emigration to America. Thus the crisis of 1884 was accompanied by a decided increase in remigration; in 1883 the number of returning emigrants was 1,337, while in 1884 and 1885 the numbers were 1,961 and 2,430 respectively. The crisis of 1893 had a similar effect: in 1892 the number of returning emigrants was 3,827, while in 1893 and 1894 the numbers were 4,938 and 7,455 respectively. Also the crises of 1903 and 1907 were followed by a marked increase in remigration.

TABLE 45

SWEDISH EMIGRATION TO AND IMMIGRATION FROM NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 1875-1925 *

YEAR	EMIGRATION	IMMI-GRATION	IMMIGRA-TION IN PER CENT OF EMI-GRATION	YEAR	EMIGRATION	IMMI-GRATION	IMMIGRA-TION IN PER CENT OF EMI-GRATION
1900	16434	4149	25	1901	20464	3719	18
1875	3689	952	23	1902	33477	3387	10
1876	3786	842	22	1903	35975	3612	10
1877	2997	737	25	1904	18968	4573	24
1878	4400	510	12	1905	20862	4165	20
1879	12866	392	3	1906	21692	4614	21
1880	36398	410	1	1907	19818	4778	24
1881	40762	574	1	1908	9246	6421	70
1882	44585	830	2	1909	18894	4988	26
1883	25911	1377	5	1910	24647	4735	19
1884	17895	1961	11	1911	16770	4558	27
1885	18466	2430	13	1912	14689	5181	35
1886	28271	1908	7	1913	17224	4917	29
1887	46556	1818	4	1914	10006	4864	49
1888	45864	2270	5	1915	4672	3223	69
1889	29067	2800	10	1916	7488	3159	42
1890	30128	3235	11	1917	2571	2478	95
1891	38318	3632	9	1918	1498	1630	109
1892	41275	3827	9	1919	4008	3573	89
1893	37504	4938	13	1920	7093	5601	79
1894	9678	7455	77	1921	5881	4605	78
1895	15104	5464	36	1922	8985	3237	36
1896	15175	4504	30	1923	26559	2433	9
1897	10314	4956	48	1924	8401	2539	30
1898	8683	4727	55	1925	9612	2260	24
1899	12028	4469	37				

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, and *Sveriges officiella statistik*, "Utvandring och invandring."

This increase appears still more pronounced if, instead of the absolute, the relative figures are considered. Up to 1894 the figures for remigration are low, in no single year exceeding 25 per cent, and usually remaining at a considerably lower level. The crisis of 1893, however, was followed by a very heavy increase, the remigration constituting not less than 77 per cent of the emigration. After this

time the figures sink somewhat, but have never sunk to their former low level.

The year 1893 marks a turning-point in the history of remigration. The break between earlier and later developments is so decided that it cannot be explained by mere contingencies. The explanation of this deep-going change demands a more complete consideration of the composition of remigration and the changes it undergoes in this respect.

TABLE 46

EMIGRATION AND REMIGRATION IN DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS *

PERIOD	AGRICULTURE			INDUSTRY			COMMERCE AND TRADE		
	1**	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1871-1880	36103	3511	10	24845	28385	34	4212	2087	49
1891-1900	56845	17725	31	37980	18360	48	8415	4133	44
1921-1925	22153	6342	29	23617	18954	38	7833	3958	51

PERIOD	PUBLIC AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE			ENGINEERS AND FOREMEN		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
1903-1907	1264	921	72	579	489	84
1921-1925	1467	1073	73	1033	537	52

* *Emigrationsutredningen*, Bil. IV, and *Sveriges officiella statistik*, "Utvandring och invandring."

** Throughout this table, 1 refers to emigration, 2 to immigration, and 3 to immigration in per cent of emigration.

Table 46 gives the strength of emigration and remigration in different occupational groups. If the groups represented in the above table are arranged in ascending order with respect to relative remigration, they stand as follows: agriculture, industry, commerce and trade, public and professional service, engineers and foremen. It is not certain that the various occupational groups correspond to each other in emigration and immigration, as there is every reason to suppose that some of the emigrants change their

occupation in America, and consequently are classed under different heads upon returning to Sweden.

In the period from 1921 to 1925 the numbers of remigrants for every hundred emigrants were in respective groups: 29 farmers, 38 industrial workers, 82 engineers and foremen. The occupation of the emigrant thus plays a decisive rôle in the probability of remigration, and any shift in the distribution by occupation will affect the volume of remigration. Table 47 shows the participation in per cent of certain groups in emigration and immigration.

TABLE 47

RELATIVE PARTICIPATION OF DIFFERENT GROUPS IN EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION *

PERIOD	AGRICULTURE		INDUSTRY		COMMERCE AND TRADE	
	Emigra- tion	Immigra- tion	Emigra- tion	Immigra- tion	Emigra- tion	Immigra- tion
1881-1890	.....	.....	13.45	24.38	2.62	5.40
1891-1900	23.18	22.58	15.16	23.01	3.41	5.24
1901-1910	31.28	24.06	23.86	30.68	4.37	6.95
1911-1920	30.71	25.66	33.09	32.97	7.08	10.16

* *Sveriges officiella statistik*, "Utvandring och invandring." This distribution should not be confused with the earlier ones in the agrarian, industrial, and professional emigrations, as it represents only a fraction of these categories.

While in the period from 1891 to 1900 the group "Agriculture" amounted to 23 per cent of the emigration, it comprised 22 per cent of the remigration. The corresponding figures for industry are 13 per cent and 24 per cent, and for commerce and trade 3 per cent and 5 per cent. As a primary explanation of the change in remigration may be advanced the increasing percentage contribution to emigration of the groups "Industry," "Commerce and Trade," etc. But from time to time differences appear even within the groups, which may be studied only through an individual examination.

Agrarian remigration.—For the decade from 1881 to

1890 the remigration in the agrarian group amounted to 10 per cent of the emigration, in spite of the enormous emigration during this time. In the following decade the figure rose to 31 per cent, and since that time has remained on a higher level than previously. The explanation of this lies in the general similarities or differences between the environments in Sweden and America. The greater the similarity the easier the adaptation to the new environment and the less the "need" for remigration.

On the American side should be noticed the reversal in the immigration situation, which occurred with the exhaustion of the supply of free land. Whereas the earlier emigrants were driven to America by their desire for rapid independence on farms of their own, it now became increasingly difficult for a person without means to acquire a farm for himself. After 1890 the agrarian emigrants were forced in increasing degree to look to others for employment, whether in agriculture or in industry.

This gives occasion to dwell briefly on the importance of the mobility of labor in America for remigration. A settler arriving at a Swedish-American community in the West encounters there many stabilizing influences. Once an emigrant has established himself, taken up land, and started to build, his poverty generally prevents his moving on, however strongly he may desire to do so. All his resources are tied up in his farm; moreover, he is often in debt to merchants and neighbors. This undoubtedly partly explains why the Scandinavian and German farmers show so much less mobility than does the Yankee. It was not unusual for the native farmer, after taking up land and getting settled, to sell out and move still further West, which process he could repeat time and again. The European emigrant, with his smaller resources and limited experience of American conditions, could not afford to move on. Moreover, by selling out too early the farmer deprived himself of the fruits

of his labors in the form of the gradual increase in land values. The longer a person remained in one place, the more decisive this factor became.

On the other hand the emigrant encountered many social factors which had a tendency to divert his desire to move on or return to Sweden. He lived in a semi-Swedish environment, where Swedish was universally spoken; in a predominantly Swedish community even Americans and Germans were sometimes compelled to learn Swedish. The Swedish Americans had their own newspapers, ministers, and churches. This contributed towards making the transition from Swedish conditions so gradual as to be almost imperceptible; the emigrant does not encounter the sudden shock experienced by the worker in the city, who almost at once is forced to relinquish the habits and ideas of his old background. The result is that the agrarian emigrants take firm root in the American soil; the nature of their social and economic life gives them such a degree of stability as to allow remigration but rarely.

After the beginning of the nineties the emigrant working as hired help or as a day-laborer frequently earned more than his predecessors, but his interest in and hope for the future dwindled as he was excluded more and more from the equal opportunities of the homestead period, when everybody seemed to have the same chances for independence and wealth. As a wage-earner he had not the incentive to stay in any one place and gradually become assimilated into American life. The dissolution of the old social relations established by the emigrant upon arrival in Swedish America, and also the freer access to ready cash made for greater mobility. That an increasing part of this mobility resulted in a movement back to Sweden is not surprising, if the difficulties of Americanization under such conditions and the improving general conditions in Sweden are taken into account.

But in spite of the fact that the agrarian remigration increases, it still remains on a lower level than that of other groups. The reason for this probably lies in the persistence of earlier traditions, even though less binding than before. It still is easier for an emigrant to feel at home in settlements in the Middle West than it is in a strange city. Friends, relatives, religious organizations, and newspapers still give the emigrant a greater feeling of solidarity and security in the rural districts than in the cities.

Industrial remigration.—Although on a higher level, the development of the industrial remigration resembles that of the agrarian. During the interval between 1871 and 1880 and between 1891 and 1900 the percentage of returning industrial emigrants increases from 34 per cent to 48 per cent, after which, as in agriculture, it decreases somewhat. The higher level occupied by this remigration is due to circumstances already touched on in part. The process of Americanization is far more rapid in the cities, where the emigrants have less in common, and where, when the industrial worker comes to America, he is already prone to look askance at American conditions.

During the first "dog-years," the emigrant often wanders from city to city, trying his hand at new occupations and acquainting himself with varying conditions. He does not have time to become attached to any one place, nor has he time to adjust himself gradually to the American environment. If in addition his net earnings are good, making it easy for him to purchase transportation, and he is not encumbered with family obligations, it is easy to understand that the improving conditions in Sweden may induce him to return.

Professional remigration.—In the group "Commerce and Trade," which perhaps does not come under the head of the professional emigration, but which in any event borders on both this and the industrial movement, the remigration

amounts to about 50 per cent. For public and professional service the figure is about 70 per cent. The group "Engineers and Foremen" exhibits the greatest variations, as might be expected from its close dependence on the changes in the economic situation: in this group the remigration varies between 52 per cent and 84 per cent of the emigration.

In the light of the study of the professional emigration in the preceding chapter, showing the special difficulties encountered by this movement, it is easy to understand why remigration from this group should be so heavy. The more highly a person is trained, the more difficult it is for him to fit himself into a new occupation. The less versatile the individual, the greater his risk of total failure in a period of transition.

It is striking how well the figures for remigration testify to the fundamental importance of the process of adjustment. The more nearly the emigrant's environment in Sweden coincides with that which he encounters in America, or, in other words, the simpler the environment from which a person comes or to which he goes, the easier it is for him to adjust himself.²

² A very interesting point is suggested by the great differences in the tendency for emigration exhibited within a movement so homogeneous in cultural and racial respects as the Swedish emigration, coming as it does from a country having many features of resemblance to America.

The Italian group, for example, is known for its high remigration; composed as it is largely of "birds of passage." It is often assumed that this is due to racial characteristics, or to the conscious determination of a certain group to stay in America only for a limited time. This may be true, but it does not explain why it is so. A plausible explanation is that adjustment to American conditions is very difficult for emigrants of this type. In any case it is a subject deserving serious study. The differences between Italy and America are very great, not only economically, but also racially, socially, and religiously. The shock received by the Italian emigrant is therefore greater than that which the average Swedish emigrant receives upon arrival in America. The upheaval in habits and ideas is more radical and deep-going than in the case of the Swedish emigrant. It may of course be possible that both the high remigration and the lack of adaptation to American standards, as well as

Remigration of older Swedish Americans and of the second generation.—The first and by far the most important phase of remigration occurs during the period of adjustment to American conditions. A second phase occurs when the emigrant has adjusted himself, if only superficially, to his new life, and the first great wave of homesickness has subsided. As time slips by the emigrant accustoms himself to regarding America as his home. American norms become decisive for his thinking and behavior, and like all converts he may even become more American than the native Americans themselves, who frequently have gained a broad conception of European conditions through study and travel while the emigrants before coming to America most often live under conditions which afford few opportunities for education and cultural improvement. The culture they perchance have brought with them, many gladly sacrifice on the altar of Americanism.³ Through the schools, newspapers, and magazines the emigrant is steadily reminded of the superiority of America in all fields of achievement.⁴ Even the Swedish press in America is characterized by an

criminality and pauperism, are the results of the same factor, namely the different nature of the process of assimilation, especially the lack of the strong rural organization which is the backbone of Swedish America and colors the Americanization process of the Swedes.

³ As an illustration: The peasantry of Sweden have during centuries developed a distinctive style of architecture and domestic art, which in artistic value is rather unique. The dwelling houses erected by Swedish-American farmers are almost invariably painted white, prosaic, and uniformly of low artistic value. In the cities the houses built by Swedish Americans are usually American bungalows, or sometimes Spanish castles, or English cottages. In the furnishings no trace of the old culture has been allowed to disturb the uniform standardization, if exception be made for a few machine-made souvenirs from Sweden, in the form of pillows emblazoned with the Swedish flag or wall-hangings decorated with birch thickets and rosy-cheeked peasant girls.

⁴ The critical voices in the American choir rarely reach the farmer in the West; Messrs. Mencken, Lewis, and Sinclair are probably unknown to him, but he regularly reads the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Country Gentleman*, which publications, while excellent in themselves, are hardly apt to give a balanced picture of America.

ardent Americanism. The product of this encounter with America is the type of Swedish American that so often has provoked the criticisms of native Swedes, who enlarge unduly upon a certain braggadocio, a lack of balance, and a superficiality of culture, often forgetting the necessity out of which this type arose.

It is only natural and justifiable that the emigrant should seek to overcome his feeling of isolation and try to conform with American norms. He must take what is offered, and nothing could be more comprehensible, although often deplorable, than that in certain cases he should go too far in relinquishing what is valuable in his Old-World background. But under the Americanized surface there often lingers a surprising, and at times touching attachment to Sweden. The causes of this are various; but the result is not infrequently an almost consuming longing, which sometimes, although comparatively rarely, constrains the emigrant to sell his belongings and return to Sweden.

But now a strong reaction usually takes place. Old friends and relatives are dead; the remembered idyll vanishes with the advance of a new age, and the returned emigrant feels himself deeply disillusioned. In Sweden he again experiences the feeling of isolation and homelessness that gripped him when he first came to America. But now he has reached an age when it is difficult to begin anew. His views are too firmly rooted to be changed; it is not so easy to form new friendships; nor can he view with the same eyes what in his youth seemed admirable and beautiful. After a time he is glad to return to America. Whereas formerly the difference between Sweden and America had made it difficult for him to adjust himself to America, the exact opposite is now the case in Sweden. Many things which formerly in Sweden he might have viewed rather indifferently now assume great proportions; the social distinctions and political conditions may arouse his opposition,

and he complains of the lack of the conveniences to which he has become accustomed in America.

The second and following generations of Swedish Americans regard themselves as Americans, and the possibility of their remigrating is practically excluded. The older the children, the more firmly they bind their parents to America. The almost complete Americanization of the second generation is in fact the most effective check on the remigration of this generation as well as of the first.

Summary.—Remigration takes place chiefly during the first years after the emigrant's arrival in America; after he has overcome the difficulties of the initial period of adjustment he only rarely returns to Sweden, and when he does his venture is seldom successful.

It appears that the volume of remigration has on the whole increased during the period of emigration. This is due partly to the changes in the composition of the movement. Remigration increases with rising social and economic standards, being lowest in the agrarian group and of increasing strength in the industrial and professional groups. The greater the percentage of the latter groups in emigration, the greater in consequence the proportion of remigration. But even in these groups there is an increasing tendency for remigration. The reasons for this lie partly in the generally improved status in Sweden, making remigration less objectionable, and partly in the dissolution of the old pattern of emigration, which had its greatest ramifications in the agricultural settlements of the West.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CESSATION OF EMIGRATION

America's restrictive immigration policy.—During and after the World War the people of the United States grew apprehensive over what might happen if masses from war-torn and disorganized Europe were permitted to flood the American labor market. Serious concern was expressed over the possibility of maintaining the standard of living of the American working class if immigration remained unrestricted. But intermingled with the economic considerations were conceptions of wider bearing. Faith in the "melting pot" began to waver, and fears were expressed lest it be impossible to assimilate increasingly great numbers of heterogeneous and foreign elements into American life. Mingled with these racial and national sentiments were formless but powerful apprehensions of the "Red Peril."

Whatever the importance of these different motives, the result was a restrictive immigration policy. It is not possible to discuss this policy here; suffice it to say that as far as Sweden is concerned it assumed practical importance first with the law of 1924, which limited the Swedish immigration to somewhat less than 10,000 persons a year. The recent National Origin Law will further limit this quota to about 3,000 persons a year.¹

It is evident, however, that the law of 1924 marks a turning-point in the history of Swedish emigration to the United States, as it is hardly likely that America will ever reopen her gates for greater masses of emigrants. In the

¹ It went into effect July 1, 1929, despite strong opposition. For a general discussion see A. M. McLean, *Modern Immigration*, 1925.

future, therefore, emigration to the United States cannot be expected to occupy the same central place in Swedish life as during the last half century. The importance for Sweden of the restriction of emigration is closely allied to the influences that brought about emigration. But before discussing the significance of the cessation of emigration, or in any case its limitation to very modest proportions, two problems should be noted. The first is the immediate effects of the restriction of emigration. The variations in emigration from year to year depend on many different circumstances. Fluctuations in business cycles, for example, may in certain years lead to unusually heavy emigration. The second problem concerns the development of emigration over longer periods.

The immediate effects of the restrictive immigration policy.—Owing to the World War, emigration was low between 1914 and 1920. The effect on the labor market was, however, not seriously felt, on account of the general expansion of business and industry during the period of inflation. During this time, chiefly because of the decreasing emigration since about 1900, the number of persons in the productive ages, between fifteen and sixty-five years, greatly increased.

As long as good times prevailed this increase did not perceptibly disturb the labor market. Unemployment remained low and wages showed a tendency to rise. This situation continued until the crisis of 1921, when industry was no longer able to retain more than a part of its labor, and still less was able to take on more.

Naturally considerable unemployment resulted. While in 1920 the unemployment in the trades unions amounted to 5.5 per cent of their total membership, in 1921 it amounted to 26.6 per cent. Because of international depression there arose in most countries a fear of overpopulation, as expressed in lively public discussion and the exten-

sive post-war literature on the population problem. It is easy to conceive that in an old emigration country like Sweden emigration should be advanced as a means of reducing the population pressure.

The development of emigration after 1920 is significant. Either because of the inertia of starting this now almost discontinued movement, or because of the gloomy outlook over the whole world, the emigration immediately after the crisis was very low. During 1921 and 1922 the emigration to the United States exhibited a rather undecided tendency, with 5,430 and 8,445 persons emigrating in these respective years. But as the tide started to turn, and normal conditions gradually were restored—first of all in America—emigration responded rapidly. The bad times in Sweden prevailed longer, perhaps, than had been anticipated, and in 1923 the emigration to the United States amounted to 24,943 persons, the highest figure since the crisis of 1903.

In the meantime the situation in Sweden had somewhat improved, after unusually severe but rapid deflation, but unemployment still remained on a high level; in 1923 it amounted to 12.58 per cent of the membership of the trades unions, or about twice as much as during the period 1912 to 1915, when it amounted to 6.1 per cent.

However the situation presents certain paradoxes, which require explanation. In spite of the high unemployment, wages show a rather decided increase.² Despite the difficulties of the post-war period the majority of the Swedish working class were in a position to improve their circumstances. Whereas previously emigration served to regulate the supply of labor, and thus modify the development of wages, now the increasingly strong organization of the working class provided a similar regulator for the control of unemployment. While in earlier times the surplus labor

² Cf. chap. xi, esp. pp. 217, 218.

usually emigrated, now it is sustained by public doles and support from the trades unions.

The key to the emigration situation lies in this surplus population; obviously the working class as a whole had less occasion than before to emigrate for economic and other reasons. This regulation of unemployment was felt especially by persons of younger years, now entering the labor market. It is principally in this group that the prospective emigrants should be sought. The development of emigration is dependent on the attitude of this group towards the alternatives of emigration to America or unemployment in Sweden. The rapid growth of emigration in 1923 seems to show, however, that emigration really was progressing towards a very high level when its development was interrupted by the American quota law. This seems to be confirmed by the long waiting lists for quota numbers, although these are not an accurate gauge, since the period of waiting itself and the uncertainty of making arrangements so far in advance deter many from applying for quota numbers.

Apparently the American restrictions on immigration overtook Sweden at a time when a great new wave of emigration was imminent. As the result of this, Sweden is at present carrying a burden of unemployment which otherwise, even if not completely lifted, would have been considerably lightened.

The situation into which these restrictions were introduced is too unusual to allow the drawing of conclusions for other than short periods. Decisive for emigration in the long run is the relation between population growth and economic expansion. As frequently observed, the rapid growth of population looms large in the background of emigration. This growth is caused not by an increased birth rate but by an exceptional decrease in the death rate. The reasons for the latter are somewhat obscure, but it probably is in consequence of an increase in general prosperity.

As long as the high birth rate remains constant the population will tend to increase in a geometrical progression. If this development is not to be interrupted, a corresponding increase must take place in the possibilities of employment for the persons thus brought to maturity. For a time the cultivation of new land offered practically unlimited possibilities for employment. When the supply of new land became inadequate the vast expanses of the American West were thrown open; at the same time the growth of Swedish industry offered an alternative, although still insufficient, solution of the problem of unemployment.

It should be axiomatic that in the long run the means of sustenance cannot be increased to the same extent as the population under conditions of unrestricted biological growth. Consequently neither the growth of industry nor emigration furnish more than a temporary solution of the problem of population increase. In the end an equilibrium between the means of sustenance and the population can be attained only through regulation of the natural growth of the latter. Such regulation can be effected through either an increase in the death rate or a decrease in the birth rate.

An increase in the death rate actually implies vice, starvation, and epidemics, and the population involved will resort to any measure to avoid such a situation. Consequently if at the end of emigration the birth rate remains constant, the increase in the standard of living through the earlier expansion of employment is sacrificed to the meager nourishment of the throngs that rapidly consume the margin between the standards of living and of existence. How this problem of adjustment between population and resources is solved is, therefore, determinative for the effects of the cessation of emigration on Swedish life.

Looking back upon the cessation of mass emigration, it must be admitted that such an adjustment has been under way during the period of emigration, even if at the time of

the cessation of emigration, it had not yet reached a point where emigration had ceased to be a desirable expedient for certain strata of the population.

During the 1880's occurred the most significant change in the background of emigration since the beginning of the movement in the forties, namely, *the nativity began to decline*. Concerning the reasons for this decline, it is sufficient to remark that it probably is due to the spread of birth control, or Neo-Malthusianism, as it was called at the time. But it is necessary to point out that this fundamental change in the habits and ideas of the people is a gradual one. At the start the sinking nativity does not obviate the necessity of the earlier outlets, emigration and industrialization. In the beginning they are as necessary as ever.

The absolute number of births in itself is of little interest. It is the relation between the number of births and the number of deaths that determines the surplus from which emigration is drawn. At the outset the lower number of births was compensated for by the decreasing number of deaths. While the number of births started to decrease in the eighties, the decrease in the number of deaths was so marked that the excess of births over deaths was not noticeably affected until the decade 1911-1920. During the periods 1881-1890, 1891-1900, 1901-1910, 1911-1920 the figures for the excess of births over deaths were 12.12, 10.78, 10.88, and 7.84, respectively. Thus it was after 1910 that the falling birth rate first overtook the falling death rate: for the period 1911-1925 the excess of births over deaths sank further to 7.06 per thousand inhabitants. Moreover, a decisive factor for the need of emigration is not the population increase in itself as much as the number of persons in the productive ages—roughly speaking between fifteen and sixty-five years of age, determined by the number entering these ages compared with the number leaving. It is in these ages that emigration usually occurs,

and it is the number of persons in these ages that determines the state of the labor market. Several calculations of the prospective magnitude of these age groups have been made, based upon the present distribution of the population by age, as well as by nativity and mortality.³

The following extract from a study by Mr. G. Silén gives the results of a calculation of the probable development of the strength of the productive age groups.⁴

The calculations here presented are based on the distribution of the population by one-year groups at the close of 1921, in accordance with data from *Statistisk Centralbyrå* [Bureau of Census], and the number of living births during the years 1922 to 1925. It has been assumed that after 1925 the number of births will decrease successively from 106,000 in 1925 to 95,000 in 1930, and thereafter will remain constant at the latter figure. With this as a starting point the number of persons in the different age groups—in some cases five-year groups—has been calculated for each year by deducting the annual decrease through death and emigration, under the assumption that the present mortality and emigration are on the decline. . . .⁵

As far as future development of the population is concerned, the diagram [not included here] shows for the two five-year periods from 1926 to 1930 and 1931 to 1935 a rather considerable decrease in the natural figures for the increase in the portion of the population between fifteen and sixty-five years of age.

For the five-year period 1936-1940 the increase in the productive ages is considerably less. During the early years of the 1940's the number of persons in the productive ages approaches stagnation, and during the latter part of this decade and the following decade this stagnation gives way to a decline.

The explanation of the peculiar development . . . lies in the fact that the number of persons attaining the age of fifteen years gradually decreases as the result of the sinking nativity, while the number of persons passing the age of sixty-five years successively increases. This is due *inter alia* to the fact that the higher age groups have in the past suffered greater losses through death and starvation than the lower groups.

³ Cf. for example S. D. Wicksell, *Ekonomisk Tidskrift*, 1926, Häft 4, 5, and Docent Cramer, *Besparingskommitten och pensionsförsäkringen*, published by Skattebetalarnas Förening, 1925.

⁴ G. Silén, "Den svenska arbetsmarknadens läge i demografisk belysning," *Svensk Tidskrift*, Årg., XVII, Häft 6, 1927.

⁵ For further details of this method of calculation see *op. cit.*, "Sociala och Kommunala Spörsmål," Häft 6, 1926.

. . . . the number of persons attaining the age of fifteen years amounts at present to 110,000 or 120,000 per year. From 1924 on there is a marked tendency towards a decline, broken only by a temporary increase in 1935.

The decrease in the number of persons passing out of the productive ages is determined, now that emigration has been reduced so drastically, chiefly by the size of the age group (sixty-four to sixty-five years), which in due order passes the age of sixty-five years. The decrease through death plays of course a certain part, but the variations in this factor are fairly insignificant.

At the present time the number of persons passing out of the productive ages, including those lost through death or emigration, amounts to between 70,000 and 80,000 per year, which is considerably less than the number entering. From 1933 on the curve for the number leaving shows an essentially uninterrupted increase. In 1947 it meets the curve for the number entering.

Every prediction as to a future development is necessarily more or less uncertain, but the demographic characters of a people change so slowly that for limited periods certain conclusions may be drawn with a fair degree of accuracy. To this class, belongs the prediction that Sweden in less than a generation will reach a stage when the population becomes stationary, and gradually even retrogressive.

The American restriction policy anticipated by about twenty years the time when the present emigration—derived from the population surplus—would have ceased of its own accord.⁶

Even if the restriction of emigration to America temporarily increased unemployment in Sweden, and increased the difficulties of the post-war reorganization necessary even for Sweden, it is not likely to exert any appreciable influence in the future.

On the contrary it seems likely that after the period of transition the most pressing problem of Swedish industry will be a lack rather than an abundance of labor. It cannot

⁶ Naturally this does not apply to the professional emigration, which is dependent upon other circumstances than the growth of population; it applies to emigration as a mass movement.

be said that from all points of view it is a poor policy to retain a part of a temporary population surplus within the country in anticipation of an ultimate decrease in the supply of labor.

Summary.—Through a restrictive immigration policy, adopted mainly after the World War, the United States closed her gates to a great part of the Swedish emigration, reducing it to a mere fraction of its former strength, and thus putting a stop to mass emigration.

That this sudden closing of the outlet of emigration did not affect Sweden more seriously is due to the fact that during the period of emigration the population had already adjusted itself to more nearly stationary conditions, through the gradual reduction of the birth rate.

It is a fortunate coincidence that emigration was opened at the same time that the possibilities of agrarian development in Sweden began to decline, and that while industry was young and the growth of population heavy, America stood ready to absorb that part of the population which could not be absorbed at home at a Swedish standard. It is likewise fortunate that when the United States closed her gates to immigration this transformation was nearly complete.

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